France's No. 1 Question—*Alexander Werth*

THE Nation

May 19, 1951

The B. B. C. on Trial

A Case Study of Benevolent Monopoly

BY CHARLES A. SIEPMANN

*

Poisoned Pork

The Trichinosis Scandal Exposed

BY LEONARD ENGEL

*

How Free Is Fair Trade?

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The Zemindars and Due Process

BY JEAN LYON

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THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 172 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • MAY 19, 1951 NUMBER 20

The Shape of Things

TEST VOTES ON NEW TAX LEGISLATION IN the House Ways and Means Committee suggest that the members either favor a sharp reduction in Mr. Truman's remobilization program or lack sincerity when they deplore the danger of new federal deficits. The House committee has voted to raise corporation taxes by 5 per cent instead of the 8 per cent proposed by the Treasury, and individual taxes by 3 instead of 4 per cent. Its members are unwilling to eliminate such inequities and loopholes as the gas and oil depletion allowances, and the total revenue that will be realized from all new taxes seems likely to be $7,000,000,000 rather than the $10,000,000,000 minimum requested by the Administration. Even allowing for increased production and higher employment, which already have raised government revenues beyond what was anticipated, this will be insufficient to maintain rearmament on a pay-as-we-go basis. There is not the slightest possibility of cutting the expenses of the civil departments sharply enough to eliminate a prospective deficit of from $3,000,000,000 to $9,000,000,000; the whole "regular" budget, exclusive of fixed costs such as interest and veterans' benefits, is less than $10,000,000,000, and cutting appropriations for old-line departments, such as Agriculture and Interior, will make it impossible to obtain vitally needed increases in food production and power capacity. Unless the Senate raises the tax rates now moving through the House, the alternatives are a deficit and a cut in military spending and in the foreign aid designed to supplement our own mobilization by strengthening the economies and military position of our friends. If a deficit is the choice, the inflationary gap between purchasing power and available civilian goods will be widened rather than narrowed.

*

THE VIGOR AND CALM DETERMINATION displayed by Israel's distinguished Prime Minister should be an example to officials of states older and more securely founded. Coinciding with the third anniversary of his country's birth, the visit of David Ben-Gurion has served to dramatize several facts of which Americans should be reminded: first, Israel's need of dollars with which to build houses and schools, expand social services and finance productive enterprises for the 600,000 emigrants who have come from Europe and the Arab world in the past three years and the additional 600,000 expected in the next three years; second, Israel's firm adherence to civil rights and democratic processes in the midst of staggering economic difficulties and external dangers; third, Israel's stubborn resistance to the threats and attacks of its Arab neighbors, who still promise a second round of aggression; fourth, Israel's refusal to yield to panic or war hysteria, although its position is far more exposed, if war comes, than is that of many larger nations, including the United States. Speaking with the confidence that springs from absolute conviction, Prime Minister Ben-Gurion is explaining to America Israel's problems and requirements and asking for the funds to meet them. Through the bond issue, the requested grants-in-aid, the United Jewish Appeal, and increased private investments, these funds must be made available. The fate of Israel is closely bound up with everything decent this country stands for—the survival of freedom and humanity, the defeat of aggressive nationalism.

*

PAMPLONA IS THE LAST PLACE IN SPAIN where a demonstration of protest against Franco might have been expected. Nobody had ever heard of a strike in that ultra-clerical city, stronghold of the Carlists, who for a century have fought every liberal penetration. Last week 30,000 Pamplona workers not only went on strike but faced the police with angry determination and rejected every ultimatum issued by the governor. Their defiance made the authorities look impotent and ridiculous, and drove the police to fire on an unarmed crowd, injuring five workers—an incident damaging to the regime. This was the fifth important strike in Spain in less than two months. Like those in Barcelona, Manresa, Bilbao, and San Sebastian, not to mention minor walkouts, the Pamplona demonstration was clearly directed by men who had won the confidence of the masses —responsible, sober, and skilful leaders. An entirely new situation is being created in Spain. Even our Ambassador, Stanton Griffis, is impressed, to judge from his speech before the American Chamber of Commerce in Barcelona. Departing markedly from his former laudatory attitude, he was extremely critical of certain economic policies of the Franco government. The whole current development provides an ironic commentary on the view of conditions in Spain expressed by Franco's

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chief American champion, Senator McCarran, in the *Saturday Evening Post* of April 28. McCarran praised the spirit of the Spanish people and of the dictator's army and urged the full incorporation of his regime in the American system of defense. The spreading rash of strikes has already revealed the Senator's misconception of the people's feelings, and it may not be long before the army too presents him with a surprise.

✶

THE NEW YORK *TIMES* HAS PERFORMED A service in publishing two excellent articles by Kalman Seigel on the impact of McCarthyism and other forms of thought control on American university life. A study of seventy-two major colleges throughout the nation has convinced Mr. Seigel that "a subtle, creeping paralysis of freedom of thought and speech" has produced an apathy about current problems that borders "almost on their deliberate exclusion." One exception is noted, "At the country's leading Catholic colleges," Mr. Seigel reports, "deans and students explained that any pressures toward conformism were virtually non-existent because student and faculty thinking and action were consistent with the Catholic point of view." Direct restrictions have not been numerous. Generally speaking, freedom of speech is not suppressed; it is inhibited. Freedom of political association is not denied; it is merely discouraged. Censorships are not directly imposed; but self-censorship is universal. The caution of the instructor is matched by the caginess of the student. The inhibitions seem to stem from a fear of social disapproval, of a "pink" label, of criticism by regents, legislatures, and friends, of discharges and demotions, of rejection for further graduate study, of government investigations, and, above all, "of future reprisals." The general consequences are more striking than the individual injustices; the real casualties have been social values. As might be expected, however, the new inquisition-by-indirection has given fresh impetus to a small but growing resistance.

✶

AN ENERGETIC, WELL-FINANCED CAMPAIGN now is under way to push a "fair trade" act (Senate Bill 42) through the Missouri legislature. One of three states that have held out against resale price maintenance, Missouri has long been a major annoyance to the fair-traders. The current drive is spearheaded by the Bureau of Education on Fair Trade Council, whose president is John W. Anderson of the Anderson Company, Gary, Indiana. A "community relations consultant" of the Anderson Company has addressed sixty or more meetings in Missouri, advocating the enactment of "fair trade" legislation as a means of attracting new industries to the state. Scores of out-of-state manufacturers of brand-name products have written their distributors in Missouri urging

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them to support the legislation and suggesting that they write similar letters to their major customers. The manufacturers and wholesalers who are putting up most of the money for this campaign want to amend the state's anti-trust act to authorize "fair-trade" agreements. If such agreements are applied to brand products, the price of these in Missouri will probably be raised on an average 12 per cent over the present retail level. "Fair trade" has not received anything like the attention it merits from labor, consumer, and cooperative groups. The growth of "fair-trade" legislation, and the kind of politics it breeds is examined by Carey McWilliams in an article on another page.

Spare the Trees

BEFORE the curtain is rolled down on the RFC investigation, Senator Fulbright should be encouraged to inquire into certain transactions of the Pickering Lumber Company, a Kansas City corporation with important holdings in California. In 1936 the company was saved from bankruptcy by a timely $2,500,000 loan from the RFC. At that time Ben Johnson was personal assistant to Chairman Jesse Jones and also directed the division which appraised timber collateral; James M. Kemper, of Kansas City, was chairman of the RFC advisory committee for Missouri; and A. T. Calkins was manager of the RFC in San Francisco. Not long after the loan was made, these gentlemen all resigned from the RFC to become directors of the Pickering Lumber Company.

All this might be regarded as ancient history were it not for the fact that the company has curtly rejected Secretary Brannan's request to delay cutting virgin timber in the famous South Calaveras grove of sequoias and sugar pine in California. With the backing of some of the nation's most distinguished conservationists, the California War Memorial Park Association has asked that the area be set aside as a state park. Experts agree that the grove would make one of the finest American parks. The immediate problem is to keep the company from cutting this stand of irreplaceable trees before federal or state action can be taken.

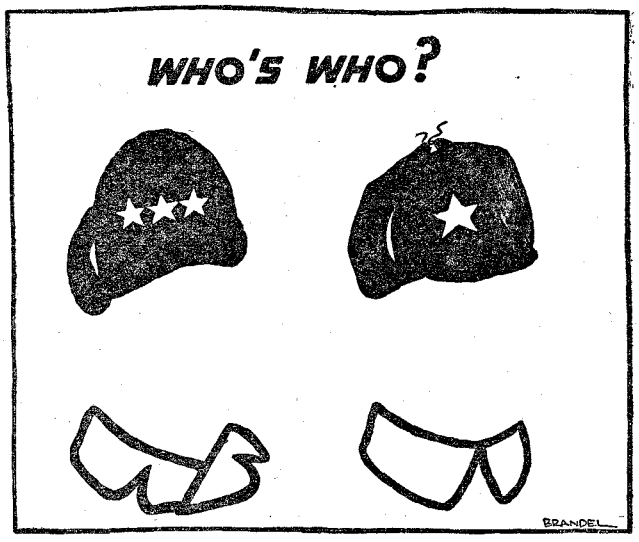
The recent appointment of Newton B. Drury as Chief of California's Division of Beaches and Parks, only a short time after he had resigned as director of the National Park Service at the request of the Secretary of the Interior, has not improved the chances of saving the trees. Although the appointment was made by the State Park Commission, headed by Senator Knowland's father, it is hard to believe that it did not have the approval of Governor Warren, who was a classmate of Mr. Drury at the University of California. Emphatic objections to the appointment, based on Mr. Drury's record in the Park Service, were registered by Harold L. Ickes, Rosalie Edge, Irving Brant, and John B. Elliott, president of the California War Memorial Park Association. We urge Congress to enact whatever emergency legislation is needed to remedy this unhappy situation.

No Aladdin's Lamp

HERBERT MORRISON, Britain's Foreign Secretary, has conceded the right of Iran to nationalize foreign-owned property but still contests its right to renounce unilaterally a legal contract. He has therefore proposed that the dispute between Iran and the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company be submitted to international arbitration. This suggestion has been in turn rejected by the Iranian Premier, Mr. Mossadegh, who argues that since nationalization is "a sovereign act," no international authority is competent to investigate it—a conception of sovereignty which would enable any country to break any international agreement at will.

The British Foreign Secretary also told the House of Commons that radical changes in the status of the oil company could be negotiated but not under duress. Unfortunately, as the *New Statesman and Nation* of May 5 pointed out, the duress exists: it would vanish only if the Iranian Parliament suspended the nationalization law—a move clearly out of the question in the present frenzied atmosphere of Tehran.

Yet sooner or later the Iranian and British governments must get together to discuss ways and means of ending the present deadlock. For neither country can get any benefit from the disputed oil without the cooperation of the other. Were the supply to be cut off, Western Europe and Asia would suffer from a fuel famine and the British balance of payments, in which Anglo-Iranian revenues figure importantly, would be thrown violently out of kilter. On the other hand, Iran can consume at home but a minute fraction of its liquid



[For answer see page 457]

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wealth: only when exported can the oil produce the funds the Tehran government desperately needs. Therefore it cannot dispense with the services of the Anglo-Iranian Company's huge tanker fleet and world-wide marketing organization. Denied the use of these services, the Iranian government would have to close down wells and refineries in a few weeks. Then we might well have a situation in which the Soviet-supported Tudeh Party, which is both revolutionary and nationalist, would be able to take over.

Recognition of this danger is one reason why the British government is proceeding cautiously. Whether it is equally well understood by Premier Mohammed Mossadegh, a sincere but highly emotional nationalist, is doubtful. Certainly he seems to have little appreciation of the economic problems of the industry he is taking over, and when asked by a foreign diplomat what he would do about various practical questions, replied with a tirade against British imperialism. He has told the people that now they have recovered their property, the new flow of wealth will strengthen the economy and bring "comfort and ease" to all.

Such airy promises are likely to boomerang. Even if satisfactory marketing arrangements can be made, even if the Iranian government is able to find efficient and honest administrators for the oil industry, it will be many years before Iran will receive more revenue than it would have obtained under the draft agreement with the company which was rejected in favor of nationalization. Compensation, which it has promised to pay, will take at least the equivalent of the profits that the company has been withdrawing, and the need for large development expenditures will continue.

In any case, nationalization of oil is no panacea for Iran's many troubles. Granted that in a sense the Anglo-Iranian was an "exploiter," it also made a genuine contribution to national development. On the other hand, the rich Iranian landlords seem to be a purely parasitic class. The abolition of their monopoly is the real starting-point for basic social, political, and economic reform. If the present ferment produced a government strong enough to tackle this job, there might be some hope for peaceful change. But Mr. Mossadegh appears to believe that all he needs is to have the genii of the oil wells at his command. Unfortunately, this is no longer the world of Haroun-al-Raschid.

THERE'S ONE CHAP WHO GETS NOTHING OUT OF IT London *Daily Herald*

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Most Evil Censorship

IN REFUSING to review the Dorothy Bailey case—another four-to-four decision—and in begging the main question in the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee and companion cases, the Supreme Court has shirked its constitutional obligations in a manner that will aggravate current tensions in the field of civil liberties. The court has often been unable to reach agreement on major issues, but it has seldom failed to decide these issues, one way or the other. The present court, however, simply decides not to decide them.

In the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee case Justice Burton took the narrow position that the government admitted allegations of arbitrary action by filing a motion to dismiss; therefore it was improper for the lower court to grant the motion. Justice Jackson concurred in the decision but on different grounds, while Black, Douglas, and Frankfurter filed separate concurring opinions. Justice Clark, the architect of the loyalty program, did not participate. Joined by the Chief Justice and by Justice Minton, Justice Reed took the position that wrongly listing an organization as "subversive" is an innocent mistake —like an inaccurate listing in a telephone directory!

By refusing to review her case, the court has not only robbed Miss Bailey of her one chance to obtain a fair hearing but has indirectly sanctioned the President's loyalty program. At the same time it has clearly implied that an organization is entitled to a hearing before it can be listed as subversive. But it did not order the Attorney General to remove the name of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee from the list pending a trial of the action, and by then the McCarran act will be in full operation. The court has decided nothing and has confused the basic issues.

By this futile intervention, the court has, in Justice Jackson's apt phrase, floundered "in wordy disagreement over the validity and effect of procedures which have already been pursued for several years." If the Executive can enforce an order of the most doubtful constitutionality for three years without being effectively challenged, then administrative agencies can pick up where the Executive leaves off and avoid a test for an additional three or four years. In the meantime, of course, the structure of civil liberties can be disastrously weakened. Once a bulwark against governmental tyranny, the court now functions as a somewhat reluctant collaborator in promoting unconstitutional procedures.

Among the concurring opinions, only that filed by Justice Black cuts to the heart of the issue. With characteristic courage and clarity, Black found that listing an organization as subversive, with or without a hearing, is a direct violation of the First Amendment, since the effect is to punish the organization and many of its members solely because of their political beliefs. One can admire Justice Frankfurter's fine exposition of "due process"—in his view the validity and moral authority of a conclusion largely depend on the mode by which it is reached—but still feel that procedures are secondary to purposes. "Due process" may provide solace to those accused of disloyalty, but in the current atmosphere such an accusation carries an indelible taint. It is the thought control itself that is objectionable. Any attempt to control thoughts and beliefs, with or without due process, is certain to result, as Justice Black points out, in "a most evil type of censorship."

Answer to Who's Who—Mao, Ridgway

1952 Is the Prize

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, May 11

LONG-RANGE political prognostication is a tricky business, but this reporter cannot escape a conviction that the Republicans by their ardent embrace of General MacArthur may be creating issues that will haunt them in 1952. At present Senator Taft may argue, without attracting overwhelming attention, that we should accept MacArthur's advice to broaden the war in China and simultaneously cut down military spending and the projected size of our armed forces. Pro-Hoover and pro-Taft Republicans can claim MacArthur for their own, even though the General in testifying repudiates the Hoover and Taft variations of neo-isolationism. But a year and a half in advance of the Presidential election, issues are less sharply defined than during a campaign. The Republicans eventually must choose a candidate, who presumably must commit himself rather specifically on foreign and military policy. Unless MacArthur himself is to be the nominee—an idea touted by Colonel McCormick but rejected by Courtney Whitney, the General's spokesman, as slightly sacrilegious—many Republicans in 1952 may suddenly become anxious for MacArthur to fade away rather more rapidly than now seems his plan.

Other Republicans in the committee hearings are digging tenaciously for an issue on which to base a campaign. In handling Secretary Marshall, in his first five days of testimony, their effort has been partly to discredit him—else one old soldier's counsel might offset another's—and partly to obscure the clear fact that MacArthur attacked the President's policies too persistently and publicly for the insubordination to be overlooked.

So Marshall is accused of permitting alleged pro-Communists to retain power during his period as Secretary of State and of earlier complicity in the "sell-out" of Chiang Kai-shek. It is suggested that as Secretary of Defense he is no longer a soldier but merely a Truman

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political puppet. (McCormick's Chicago *Tribune* goes farther and intimates that he is a senile puppet.) And there is an effort to stir up sympathy for the "manner" in which MacArthur was fired. Could not the General have been left in Tokyo, even though removed from the Korean command, until the Japanese peace treaty was signed? Didn't he really owe his "highest loyalty" to the country and the Constitution rather than to a human being who happened to be President? Marshall cannot compete with MacArthur's histrionic talents, but he has his own patriotism and dignity, and he has patiently reiterated his views without losing his temper. As army chief of staff during World War II he had disagreements with Roosevelt, but he never forgot that the same Constitution to which he owed his highest loyalty established the President as commander-in-chief. Last year, when General Marshall was named Secretary of Defense, Senator Jenner violently attacked his reputation and ability. His cross-examination in the current hearings indicates that many Republican Senators are adopting Jenner's views on Marshall as they previously adopted Joe McCarthy's on Dean Acheson and the Department of State.

All this, however, does not get the Republicans a candidate and a foreign policy. Behind the scenes there is a breach in Republican ranks which will grow wider if, as seems possible, the MacArthur incident propels the party into the hands of a candidate representing the isolationist or the go-it-alone extreme or any combination of the two. Senator Morse of Oregon has already said publicly that if his party nominates an isolationist he will "take a long walk." There are others on the Republican side of the aisle who are deeply disturbed by the rush of their colleagues to climb on the MacArthur bandwagon. Nationally respected Republican newspapers, such as the New York *Herald Tribune* and the Cowles publications in Des Moines and Minneapolis, are strongly supporting Truman on the MacArthur issue.

Four powerful publishers beat a path to MacArthur's door during his early seclusion in the Waldorf Tower—McCormick, Roy Howard of the Scripps-Howard chain, Henry Luce of *Time,* and William Randolph Hearst, Jr. But they have only one thing in common—a dislike of Truman's domestic policy. Luce and Howard favored the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Pact and also supported the President's intervention in Korea, although they are not now averse to exploiting our difficulties there to promote anti-Truman sentiment. McCormick and the Hearst chain, on the other hand, think of the Marshall Plan as "Operation Rathole," despise the Atlantic Pact and the United Nations, and abhor the Korean campaign even while indorsing MacArthur's plan to expand it. If the election next year hinges on a foreign-policy fight, the Republican nominee will have to engage in a remarkable kind of doubletalk, or "newspeak," to obtain the support of both the MacArthur worshipers and the more international-minded Republican press and leadership. As for the influential independent newspapers—the Washington *Post,* Baltimore *Sun,* St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* and *Star-Times*—it is difficult to imagine that they could be for MacArthur or Taft, or any candidate representing the McCormick-McCarthy-MacArthur-Taft group, against Truman or some other Democratic nominee fighting to vindicate Truman's foreign policy.

Whether continuing the Democratic Party in power would be a good thing for the country may be, in the abstract, a debatable question. A good many sympathetic observers are conscious that the New Deal–Fair Deal after two decades in office has lost much of its verve. In many areas the Truman Administration is painfully deficient in ideas and in personnel committed to an affirmative program. There is mediocrity in the executive offices and in the Democratic National Committee, which is supposed to function as the political arm of the Administration. Doubt and confusion hamper Democratic members of Congress; a majority in both House and Senate voted last year to override the President's veto of the McCarran act—action that would have been unthinkable if the party retained a clear liberal urge and sense of mission.

But if the Republicans wish to capitalize on the desire of many for a change, they must offer something more than negation, a reversion to reaction and isolationism, and an orgy of hero-worship for a dramatic ousted general. Politicians of the Joe Martin stripe like to think that Governor Dewey lost to Truman in 1948 only because he did not "fight." They seem incapable of understanding that the record of the Republican-controlled Eightieth Congress deprived him of anything to fight for. He could not openly repudiate that record, but if he had tried to defend it, and thus lined up officially with Republican primitivism, he would probably have been beaten much worse.

The clamorous Republican indorsement of MacArthur as a political issue has destroyed for the present the working coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats in Congress. The conservative Democrats—some of them, it is true, rather gingerly—have rejoined the Administration on this issue, and will stay with it if the right-wing and isolationist Republicans insist on projecting the General into the campaign. The international-minded and more liberal Republicans, who thus far have remained relatively silent, will find their position increasingly uncomfortable. They do not believe in "going it alone," in giving America the unenviable responsibility for blowing up the United Nations, or in rashly starting a "preventive war." It is not the Democratic Party which faces a dangerous split over MacArthur but the Republican Party.

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Three Elections

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

PEOPLE who think that you are a decade or two behind the times if you still talk about fascism and that only communism is a live question today must have been surprised at the success of the Socialist Reichs Party (S. R. P.) in the elections in Lower Saxony last Sunday. Something of the sort, however, had been expected by those who have followed recent developments in West Germany and the policy of the occupation authorities. Not wanting to alarm public opinion outside Germany or to risk banning as a neo-Nazi organization by Chancellor Adenauer, the S. R. P. had denied that it wanted to restore Nazism or overthrow the republic, but it was finally encouraged to come out in the open by the amnesty granted to the war criminals and the general policy of the Western Allies.

Commissioner McCloy's liberation of the Landsberg prisoners (commented on by Carolus in *The Nation* two weeks ago) was preceded by a campaign for their release in which all sections of the population joined—associations of former army officers, church congregations, political parties, and even groups which call themselves liberal. But in all the talk about the "conscience of mankind" the loudest and most aggressive voice was that of the S. R. P. It was the S. R. P. which organized the demonstrations before the gates of Landsberg, where the infamous Pohl, among others, was imprisoned, the man who had personally directed the destruction of the Warsaw ghetto. Of twenty-eight war criminals confined in Landsberg under sentence of death or life imprisonment, twenty-one were reprieved by the American High Commissioner. When even Alfried Krupp, moving spirit of Hitler Germany's industrial mobilization for war, was set free as the price of West Germany's adherence to the Atlantic Pact, the S. R. P. entered the elections with confidence, flaunting racism and *révanche* on its banners.

Every German who felt sympathy for the war criminals was intensely pleased to see the S. R. P. receive some 400,000 votes and come in fourth among the ten parties which campaigned, with a larger percentage than was polled by Adenauer's party. The S. R. P. leaders realized that by revealing themselves as the Nazis they were, they were not threatened by any serious reprisals from the occupation authorities, whose chief interest now is to hasten West Germany's rehabilitation as a sovereign state. Its diplomatic service has been reestablished; the British are showing greater willingness to remove the controls over its economy; economic and political advantages of many kinds are assured to it by the Schuman Plan and the Council of Europe, and foreign trade is beginning to boom. In short, the Germans are courted, favored, strong, and large numbers of them, instead of voting for democracy, as may have been expected by their benefactors, vote for neo-Nazism, through which, they believe, Germany will one day become again the most powerful nation in Europe.

In the Austrian elections for a new President to replace the late Dr. Karl Renner, an unexpectedly large vote was cast for Burghard Breitner, running as the candidate of the League of Independents, which is supported by many known former Nazis and other elements dissatisfied with the parties now in power, the People's Party (strongly Catholic) and the Socialists. The outlook is not so ominous as in Germany, but the trend is the same. In all European countries reaction has been helped to power by rearmament; the fascism which many people were ingenuous enough to think had been extirpated is putting forth new shoots everywhere. A new fascist international is beginning to appear over the horizon, as witness the congress of fascist leaders called in Stockholm, and World War III is the best card it holds.

THE Bolivian elections were not less interesting. Victor Paz Estensoro, who won a majority of the votes cast, is generally labeled a "Communist-fascist" and can hardly be the hero of any genuine liberal. It is true that he has opposed Franco, but he has also been accused of totalitarian tendencies. And yet it would not be accurate to call him an agent of Perón. After he was exiled by the 1946 revolution which overturned the regime of Gualberto Villarroel, who was hanged in the public square, he spent most of his time in Argentina but moved recently to Montevideo because Perón did not want to antagonize the Bolivian government. The candidate who was actually a Perón agent, Gabriel Gosálvez, formerly Bolivian ambassador in Buenos Aires, trailed Paz Estensoro in the voting.

Nor was Paz Estensoro's victory due to his undeniable propagandist gifts, for he was in exile and could not exercise them in the campaign. His political friends within Bolivia were persecuted and helpless. He had against him the government, the army, the mine owners, and the big business interests anxious to maintain good financial relations with the United States. How, then, did it happen that he received more votes than any of his rivals? The answer is simple: he voiced the demands of the mine workers, among the most exploited and miserably poor people in the Western Hemisphere. The social problem in Latin America must be a cause of great anxiety in Washington. Some day, nobody knows when, there will be an explosion, and the starving Indians will rise up and say, "An end to all this," as the people of Asia have done. Then the Kremlin will again be made responsible for a movement which has its roots in social injustice, in the contrast between the wealth of a tiny minority and the poverty of an incredibly ill-paid

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proletariat. The situation is loaded with explosive material, and no help will be needed from the Moscow Politburo to set it off.

Paz Estensoro only had to emphasize two slogans in the election manifesto which served for the speeches he was unable to deliver: "Nationalize the mines" and "Bolivia without the Americans." Washington may be satisfied with the official solidarity expressed at inter-American conferences like that held last month in Washington or with the support of the Latin American delegations at Lake Success. But the fact remains that Bolivia elected a President, demagogue or not, who promised to nationalize the mines and wrest control of national policy from foreign capitalists.

In Bolivia, this time, the old method of buying an election did not bring results. Instead of selling their votes for a meal or some drinks, the Indians preferred to give them to the man who promised to lead them out of slavery. Apart from the type of man chosen, the elections were, for Bolivia, democratically conducted. The fact that Paz Estensoro did not succeed in attaining an absolute majority was emphasized in an effort to deprive him of his victory, but the most farsighted Bolivian leaders and even the chief of the army are now urging that his election be confirmed, fearing that otherwise the road will be opened to a possible "legal revolution." The significance of the election transcends Bolivia. It is a warning that Washington dare not ignore.

France's No. 1 Question

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Lyon, May 7

I LIKE Lyon. Built, like Manhattan, on the point of a sword between two mighty rivers, it is the only French city except Paris which looks like a metropolis. It has spectacular squares, boulevards, and bridges, large dignified buildings old and new, smart crowds, a lot of traffic, white-gloved policemen. The National Congress of the Mouvement Républicain Populaire, held in the large hall of the Lyon Fair, beside the swift emerald waters of the Rhône, was as good a pretext as any for revisiting Lyon and starting my "election close-up" there. Then, too, the chestnuts were in full bloom.

The M. R. P., with 144 deputies in the Assembly, is today the second-largest party in France, and in the last election it received the votes of 27 per cent of the electorate. In the coming election it stands to be the biggest loser. The M. R. P. is the Christian Democratic party of France but is strikingly unlike the conservative Christian Democrats of Germany and Italy. It counts Lamennais and Montalembert among its ancestors, and its uncles and cousins include Jacques Maritain and Marc Sangnier, whose noble countenance embellished the entrance of the congress hall. It was the Resistance and the Liberation that increased the small group of thirteen Démocrates Populaires in the pre-war Chamber to nearly 150 M. R. P.'s in the 1946 Assembly. *En principe*, it is a left-wing party, and during the four days' discussions at Lyon the phrase "social justice" kept cropping up. Unlike the Radicals, and more than the Socialists, the M. R. P., with which are closely linked the powerful and strongly leftist Christian trade unions of the C. F. T. C., may be said to be, in some respects, a "working-class party."

One cannot help having a soft spot for the M. R. P. Its members have ideas, an ideology, and good instincts. No doubt, there are some machine politicians among them, such as P. H. Teitgen and Paul Coste-Floret, the latter one of the men most responsible for the situation in Indo-China; but more typical leaders are the party's president, Georges Bidault, who was a better Prime Minister than most produced by the Fourth Republic; Robert Schuman, who is more sinned against than sinning if his two favorite children, the Council of Europe and the Schuman Plan, have not turned out as well as he had hoped; and Paul Bacon, the Minister of Labor, who showed more understanding of the workers' legitimate demands in the recent strikes than most members of the Queuille government.

These and many others, like Maurice Schumann, the M. R. P.'s foreign expert, give the impression of being men of sincerity and good-will, disinclined to be carried away by hate propaganda. No doubt, the record of the M. R. P. in the handling of Indo-China is about as bad as anybody else's, but at least it may be said that if Radicals and Socialists, and also a few Gaullists, were up to their necks in *l'affaire des généraux* and other colonial financial scandals, the M. R. P. kept its skirts remarkably clean. And today Coste-Floret himself, whose speech here on Monday contained more blah than is usual even in pre-election speeches, was trying to think a little more constructively than most about Indo-China. France, he said, must try to get Bao Dai's Indo-China to be admitted to the U. N.; if Russia objected, it might be offered in return the admission of Communist China. It was not perhaps a very practical solution, but it was still a suggestion that might pave the way for a general settlement in the Far East.

On this as on most subjects something of a gulf separates the ministers from the *militants* of the party and also from some rank-and-file deputies, like André Denis, who recently had the temerity to propose that another attempt be made to negotiate with Ho Chi Minh. His proposal was taken up by one of the youth federations at this congress but was sat on, of course, by the leaders.

I had dinner one night in a little working-class restaurant with some of the young people of the M. R. P. They are essentially Socialists, believing in planning and passionately advocating a square deal for the French

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workers. They felt rather disgusted that in the congress that day a motion proposing that a sliding scale for wages be universally applied in France was rejected after a somewhat tortuous speech by M. Bacon, the Minister of Labor. They dislike most of all the conservative, laissez faire Radicals, "who haven't learned a thing," and the American-business-man type of politician like M. Pleven, who for months refused, despite M. R. P. protests, to face up to the financial and economic problems besetting France.

"It's a funny business," one of the party said, "this M. R. P. of ours. In '46 all the good Conservative Catholics voted for us, and our leaders largely reflect their views. But our young people are more working-class in mentality, and Etienne Borne, the great ideologist of the M. R. P., is awfully alarmed by our hankering for Marxism, which apart from Christianity is the only optimistic faith one can have these days." As we were walking home that night, we passed a huge hoarding covered with anti-Russian posters. "Pleven stuff, American stuff," one of the young people remarked. "Who the devil in France wants to start a crusade against Russia?"

These young M. R. P. boys were sorry never to have been able to establish any contacts with British student and youth organizations. There was nothing they were more interested in than the "Labor experiment," nothing they would like better than for the M. R. P. to become, in time, a French *travailliste* party.

There was no Gaullist movement in the '46 election, and now the Gaullists will get many of the M. R. P. votes, often perhaps with the support of the local curé. The M. R. P. fought a losing battle against the electoral reform, but in the end decided it was a lesser evil than any other solution. It reckons that, in practice, the new system will be only a slightly modified proportional-representation system, calculated, above all, to limit the number of Gaullist and Communists seats. The *apparentement* with the other Third Force parties may often be difficult, but the leaders of the M. R. P. have been stressing the fact that M. R. P. votes will *not* go to the anti-clerical Radicals, for instance, and that the *apparentés* parties getting more than 50 per cent of the votes will simply share out the total poll on a P. R. basis.

At the congress De Gaulle was accused of "Caesarism" and "Boulangism" and of wanting to drag France into a deadly adventure, and although Bidault clearly regretted that De Gaulle had "bolted the door," he (Bidault) wasn't going to ring the bell. One wonders what would happen if De Gaulle, before or after the election, were to unlock the door. Others, notably M. Teitgen, were more emphatic in their opposition to having anything to do with De Gaulle either before or after, and this seems to be the M. R. P. line—at least for the present.

Much, if not everything, ultimately depends on how many seats the Gaullists get in the next Assembly. Forecasts at the congress were: 120 Gaullists, 100 Communists, and the remaining 400 more or less Third Force, including 80 M. R. P.'s. Only what on earth would happen if the Communists got, say, 120 and the Gaullists, as some of their spokesmen have been prophesying, 200 seats? This is France's No. 1 question.

Poisoned Pork

BY LEONARD ENGEL

IN 1945, 256 German prisoners of war at a camp in Michigan came down with severe attacks of trichinosis. The outbreak, which was traced to a favorite German dish, raw pork sausage, prepared by camp cooks from United States army pork, led to a bitter exchange between the army and the camp's inmates. The army stiffly told the prisoners they should have cooked the meat—everyone in the United States knows raw pork is dangerous. To which the prisoners replied that it never occurred to them that anyone in the United States would serve infected pork; in Germany trichinosis had been wiped out sixty years before. The incident points up a singular situation. We Americans pride ourselves on the purity of our drinking water, the wholesomeness of our milk, our generally high standards of sanitation; yet we continue to tolerate trichinosis-infected pork, a health menace eradicated long ago in most of the advanced nations of the West and one which we also could be rid of within a decade.

Trichinosis is caused by a microscopic spiral worm, *Trichinella spiralis,* parasitic to man, rats, mice, and hogs. Trichinella comes to man in the form of an encysted larva which, if not killed by cooking or curing of the infected pork, is liberated in the intestine by the process of digestion. The larva is soon transformed into an adult and proceeds to breed; as many as 100,000,000 young may be hatched in the walls of the intestine after a single meal of infected meat. The young parasites are carried through the body by the blood and lymph and burrow into the muscles, especially the muscles of

LEONARD ENGEL writes frequently for The Nation *on new developments in science. This is the first of a series of articles on abuses in the food and drug trades.*

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the chest, diaphragm, and tongue, where they grow rapidly. One of two things then happens. Either the host succumbs or his body succeeds in throwing cysts around the trichinae. In the latter case the parasites stay with the host for life, causing painful symptoms usually blamed on other disorders. Trichinosis is exceptionally difficult to diagnose and has been confused with more than sixty other ailments, ranging from arthritis to typhoid fever. There is no cure for it.

Trichinosis is directly responsible for probably fewer than 100 deaths a year. A recent United States Public Health Service study, however, indicates that it is more widespread than any other chronic disease. A team of Public Health Service pathologists made a microscopic examination of tissues from 5,313 individuals from thirty-seven states and the District of Columbia who had died from other causes. Some degree of trichinous infection was found in 16.1 per cent. Rich and poor, farmers and city-dwellers, Northerners and Southerners were equally affected. The only group free of trichinosis were the Orthodox Jews, who don't eat pork.

The extraordinary incidence of human trichinosis in the United States—far and away the greatest anywhere—is a direct reflection of the fact that American swine are the world's most trichinous. No less than 1.5 per cent of the hogs coming to market here harbor parasites. Professor S. E. Gould of Wayne Medical College estimates that the average American consumes 200 servings of trichinous pork during his lifetime. "Infection may occur," declares a special report of the Committee on Public Health Relations of the New York Academy of Medicine, "if the trichinae are viable in only one serving of pork." The label, "U. S. Inspected and Passed," on fresh pork or cured pork meant to be cooked by the consumer is no protection. The Department of Agriculture prescribes standards for processed products meant to be eaten without further cooking which guarantee freedom from trichinae; on other pork products, however, the label merely means that the product has passed the department's routine meat inspection, which does not detect trichinae.

Deaths from trichinosis would undoubtedly be much more numerous but for two circumstances. First, the majority of American housewives have learned to cook fresh pork well enough to kill most of the parasites. Second, in preparing sausage and similar products our streamlined packing plants generally blend meat from many hogs. This serves to dilute infected meat and reduce the number of parasites in any one serving. As a result, most trichinosis victims escape fatal attacks.

WHILE there is no cure for trichinosis, there are well-proved, practical methods of stamping it out. One that has been in use for two generations in France, Germany, Scandinavia, and Switzerland is microscopic inspection of all pork coming to market and destruction of any carcasses found infected. Microscopic inspection brought the proportion of trichinous hogs entering slaughterhouses in Germany, which once had a more serious trichinosis problem than the United States, down to an average of 0.001 per cent before World War II.

The second method—employed in Canada and Great Britain for upward of three decades—is compulsory cooking of garbage fed to swine in order to break the chain of infection. Hogs pick up trichinosis mainly from scraps of trichinous pork in raw garbage. Boiling kills the parasites and makes the garbage non-infectious. Compulsory treatment of garbage has cut the trichinosis rate among Canadian hogs to one-thirtieth the rate in the United States. A third method, freezing of fresh pork products, has also been used on a small scale, but the necessary refrigeration equipment is too expensive to permit rapid general adoption, and freezing produces undesirable changes in the flavor and appearance of the pork.

The United States Public Health Service and other health authorities have called repeatedly for either compulsory boiling of garbage or microscopic inspection of pork products. Pork destined for export to countries which insist on microscopic inspection, such as France and Sweden, is in fact so inspected by the Department of Agriculture. But the extension of similar protection to domestic consumers has been blocked by a politically powerful alliance of hog-raisers and meat-packers abetted by cities and towns—about half of those with a population of more than 10,000—that sell garbage to hog farms or are in the hog-raising business themselves, and that place a few pennies of municipal profit above the health of their citizens.

The loudest objections to compulsory cooking of garbage come, of course, from hog-raisers who feed their animals mainly on swill. Many meat-packers are also against it because they feed hogs awaiting slaughter on uncooked, and therefore infectious, offal from previously slaughtered animals—a thrifty practice they wouldn't want to see changed. The hog-raisers contend that pigs will not eat boiled swill, and that the cooking requirement would be impossible to enforce because of the number of small farmers who raise a few pigs on home-produced swill. The strongest opposition to microscopic inspection naturally comes from the meat-packers, who point out that it isn't 100 per cent reliable (trichinae are often difficult to detect in animals under a year old, and an animal may be trichinous though no parasites are found in the particular tissues examined) and that pork shipped in intra-state commerce, about 30 per cent of the total coming to market, is not subject to federal control. A microscopic-inspection program, the packers argue, might give people a

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false sense of security and make them careless about thorough cooking of pork.

The record in other countries shows that none of these arguments has merit. Indeed, I doubt that they are taken seriously by many who advance them. The real objections to garbage cooking and microscopic inspection are economic. The hog-raisers who use swill are afraid that the cost of cooking will put them at a disadvantage as compared with those who feed corn; the meat-packers are thinking of the cost of microscopic inspection and in addition fear that the procedure would disrupt their highly mechanized production processes. The hog-raisers and meat-packers, however, exaggerate the expense of proper protective measures. The United States and Canadian Departments of Agriculture have devised swill cookers that can be built from discarded oil drums and boilers at a cost ranging from less than $25 for a unit capable of feeding a dozen hogs to about $1,000 for a system capable of providing for 1,000 animals; these can be operated for roughly $1 to $2 per ton of swill. Microscopic inspection, it is true, is slow and expensive when performed manually, but semi-automatic equipment could be devised to speed up the process. Public-health specialists estimate that making our pork supply safe will cost about what we now spend on pasteurizing milk.

When compulsory pasteurization of milk was first proposed a half-century ago, dairy leaders predicted that it would ruin the industry and send the price of milk soaring. Actually pasteurization adds only a fraction of a cent per quart to the cost of milk, and we would no more think of going back to unpasteurized milk than of giving up our modern water-supply systems. The housewife should no longer be compelled to carry the burden of preventing trichinosis. The responsibility should be put where it belongs—on the hog-raisers and meat-packers. "It appears to be a legitimate demand," Dr. Maurice C. Hall, the late chief of the division of zoology of the United States Public Health Service, once remarked, "that when a man exchanges dollars for pork he should not do it on the basis that he may be purchasing his death warrant. In a day when goods of all sorts are assumed to be, and quite generally are, safe and wholesome as marketed, no one has a right to ask that an exception be made for pork."

Pork is an appetizing, economical, and nutritious meat. The elimination of trichinosis would finally make it a safe food as well.

How Free Is Fair Trade?

BY CAREY McWILLIAMS

IN THE last few years convergent pressures have begun to undermine the little-noticed but expensive "fair trade" laws which, in force in forty-five states, have worked a quiet revolution in certain lines of merchandising since 1931. In the estimate of Dr. Joseph M. Klamon of Washington University, an outstanding expert, "fair trade" now taxes American consumers a billion dollars a year by increasing retail prices. The story of how the laws under which this tax is imposed were "eased into the American economy" is one of the extraordinary political success stories of the last two decades.

The essence of "fair trade," or resale-price-maintenance, is control of competition by vertical price-fixing of branded goods. The manufacturers instituted the movement, but in the 1920's its leadership was taken over by the independent retailers and their suppliers, the jobbers and wholesalers. As trade areas expanded, the department store, the supermarket or "giant store," and the chain store had begun to encroach on the market of independent retailers, who had long enjoyed a quasi-monopoly based on strategic location. The more mobile the consumer became, the better able he was to choose where to buy.

This new trend in distribution was more pronounced in California than elsewhere. There the year-round use of automobiles, rapid growth of population in certain areas, and large low-cost, open-air markets favored the new merchandising methods. At the same time the steady influx of merchants, drawn by the "climate" rather than by a realistic appraisal of the opportunities, multiplied the number of retail outlets in a wasteful and competitively ruinous fashion.

Out of the necessity which in California breeds an exceptional inventiveness, a number of retail organizations joined forces with the retail druggists in 1931 to push the first state resale-price-maintenance act through the legislature. The depression had weakened the opposition and given impetus to price-maintenance schemes. Two years later a clause was added which made the resale price agreed upon by a manufacturer and a single retailer binding on all retailers upon notice. This act be-

CAREY McWilliams, associate editor of The Nation, *has been for many years a close observer of the California political scene. A following article will deal with the counter-revolt against fair trade which has developed since 1948.*

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came the model for virtually every state's "fair trade" law; in eleven states it was copied so slavishly that certain minor typographical and grammatical errors were repeated.

In 1936 the Supreme Court, perhaps to make up for having just struck down the NRA, upheld the Illinois fair-trade act. Senator Tydings, whose former law partner represented the retail druggists, was then induced to offer the Miller-Tydings amendment to the federal Anti-Trust Act as a rider to a District of Columbia appropriation bill. This amendment legalized minimum resale-price-maintenance agreements on branded goods sold in interstate commerce provided the commodities were resold in states where such agreements were authorized by law. President Roosevelt denounced it as "vicious" but, lacking an item veto power, was compelled to accept it. In the wake of the Miller-Tydings amendment fair-trade laws were pushed through thirty-one state legislatures before you could say "anti-trust."

The original California act was a most ingenious legislative device. The type of price maintenance it authorized could be labeled "purely voluntary," even though the agreement fixing the price was made binding on all retailers upon notice. It could also be praised as economical: enforcement cost the state nothing since the remedy was by injunction. Competition, at least in production, could still be said to be unrestricted, since the commodity affected must be one in "fair and open competition with commodities of the same general class." And since only minimum prices were maintained, it could be argued that the act did not authorize price-fixing *per se*. Impressed by this dazzling invention, the California legislature in 1935 revised an earlier "unfair trade" act to complete the new scheme of price maintenance.

STATE legislators are more responsive to local pressures than Congressmen, and the pressure behind "fair trade" stems from local retail merchants. Retailers can exert pressure on legislators because they are found in all communities. Furthermore, they can lobby the constituents of the legislator while spokesmen for the retail trade association lobby the legislator in the state capitol. Bills to legalize price control have been introduced in each session of Congress since 1914, but not even the eloquence of Louis Brandeis, speaking on behalf of the American Fair Trade Association, could induce Congress to modify the anti-trust laws in the interest of "fair trade." The Supreme Court's decision upholding the Illinois act made it possible for Congress to shift the onus of modification to the states. Even so, enactment of the Miller-Tydings amendment is only to be explained by the power of the new grass-roots lobby which the California retailers had perfected. Nearly 2,000,000 retailers, it may be noted, were interested in the amendment.

At an early date, also, the retail druggists in Oakland, California, had hit upon the "captain" plan of organization. This was used in the drive to adopt the Miller-Tydings amendment and in subsequent state campaigns for fair-trade laws. The "captain" plan works as follows: The trade association concerned selects a "colonel," usually the most prosperous and best-known retailer of the area, and in his name sends out a call to the other retailers to meet for the purpose of working out a collective attitude, policy, and procedure. A "captain" is then named for each subdivision of the area and made responsible for the execution of the measures decided on. The strategy is directed by the trade association, which also handles the publicity.

Some associations have spent three or four times their normal income from dues and assessments on lobbying and similar activities, obtaining the necessary additional funds from wholesalers and jobbers. Pepsodent, for example, felt compelled to contribute $25,000 to one association after an experiment with fair-trading its products had proved unsuccessful. The retailers, in fact, first used the "captain" plan to exert pressure on manufacturers by offering to cooperate with those who fair-traded their products and boycotting those who did not; the Federal Trade Commission, in its report of December, 1945, found that "tremendous pressure" had been applied to drug manufacturers in this manner. But the plan was equally effective in focusing political pressure on legislators.

These new retail grass-roots lobbies must be ranked among the most cohesive and powerful pressure groups influencing state legislation. Recently the lower house of the Colorado legislature passed a retail-price-maintenance measure for the liquor industry with only five dissenting votes. Attempts to repeal fair-trade laws have been decisively defeated in Colorado, New Mexico, and Wisconsin. In Wyoming a fair-trade law was adopted after a one-day hearing in a Casper hotel. State committees receive advice from the Bureau of Education on Fair Trade, whose "campaign guides" and political manuals are excellent texts on the art of pressure politics. Only in Texas, Vermont, and Missouri have the fair-trade lobbies been unsuccessful; in Missouri the opposition owes much to the leadership of the St. Louis *Star-Times* and *Post-Dispatch*. The fair-trade lobby was able to force the Miller-Tydings amendment through Congress, but it has never succeeded in inducing Congress to adopt a local fair-trade act for the District of Columbia—after all, Congressmen are interested in low-priced bourbon.

Underlying the effectiveness of the lobby is a growing class consciousness among independent retailers, out of which has come an impulse toward political action. The fair-trade groups are essentially the collective bargaining agencies of the retailers in their dealings with the manufacturers, price-cutters, and low-price, big-volume mer-

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chandisers. The development of the fair-trade lobby has been carried farther in California than in any other state; this type of lobby is the basis of the power of Artie Samish, who has bossed the California legislature as long as he has represented the liquor industry. But in the past five years fair-trade lobbies have been greatly strengthened in other states as well, and largely by the same means—offensive-defensive alliances among various retail groups. Their efficiency largely accounts for the quietness of what Leverett A. Chapin of the Denver *Post* has called the revolution "from competition to fair trade."

The B. B. C. on Trial

BY CHARLES A. SIEPMANN

SINCE the inception of our system of broadcasting in 1934, its merits and defects have received no sustained governmental consideration. The British, on the other hand, have officially reviewed their system four times in less than thirty years and only now, in 1951, have finally concluded that, all things considered, it is for their purposes the best.

The recent report of the Broadcasting Committee of which Lord Beveridge was chairman is an illuminating analysis of broadcasting as a force in society and of the problem of social control over its operation. It examines the pros and cons of monopoly and competition in broadcasting and throws new light on the vexed question whether broadcasting can usefully be thought of as an instrument of education. This last is of special interest to Americans just now in view of the awaited decision of the Federal Communications Commission on educational TV.

The report is still subject to approval by Parliament. As submitted, it gives a permanent green light to the British Broadcasting Corporation, a monopoly which henceforth will determine the output of both radio and television in and out of Britain. No substantial changes are recommended. There is to be greater scope for regional and local self-expression; there is to be more controversy on the air; and the B. B. C. is to be rendered more sensitive to criticism and suggestions from without. The hands of its Board of Governors are to be strengthened and their term of service lengthened. The new charter is to have no fixed time limit—thus far the charter has run for ten years only—but the work of the corporation is to be subject to quinquennial review.

The B. B. C., however, gets here no rubber-stamp approval. It survives, rather, a searching inquiry. The report runs to nearly 1,000 pages. The committee held sixty-two meetings, apart from subcommittees and studies by individual members. It received nearly four hundred memoranda and a million words of evidence from sources other than the B. B. C. itself. The report includes a dissenting opinion by one of its members, who pleads for an end to the monopoly and the introduction of commercial competition. But majority opinion holds that both the system and the program service of broadcasting in Britain stand vindicated.

What kind of programs are they which have won such approval? Dramatically illustrated by the report is the fact that broadcasting in Britain is about as different from broadcasting in America as it could be. In Britain there is no advertising on the air. The main source of revenue is an annual license fee (one pound) paid dutifully by approximately twelve million owners of radio receiving sets. (The percentage of listening homes is about the same as in the United States.) Television set owners pay two pounds and number some 400,000. A tribute to British honesty is the fact that only 5 per cent of listeners have to be reminded by the Post Office that their license needs renewal.

As far as channels go, the choice is meager. In the evening there are only three, up to 6 p.m. only two. Yet paradoxically the number of program types available far exceeds that provided for the average listener in America. Indeed, the B. B. C. claims that it offers "a wider range of programs than does any other broadcasting organization in the world." The range is certainly remarkable. In an average week there are 70 newscasts; 20 hours of talks, readings, and discussions; 100 variety programs; over 100 programs of serious and light music exclusive of dance music (over a thousand orchestral concerts of serious music are broadcast annually); some 23 hours of drama; a daily children's hour; 15 religious broadcasts; and 47 programs for schools, to which 18,000 schools tune in.

Listening in Britain is as extensive as here. On any given winter evening a quarter of the adult population is likely to be tuned in. The service is, if anything, more popular. The percentage of listeners expressing satisfaction has never been below 84 per cent; that of the dis-

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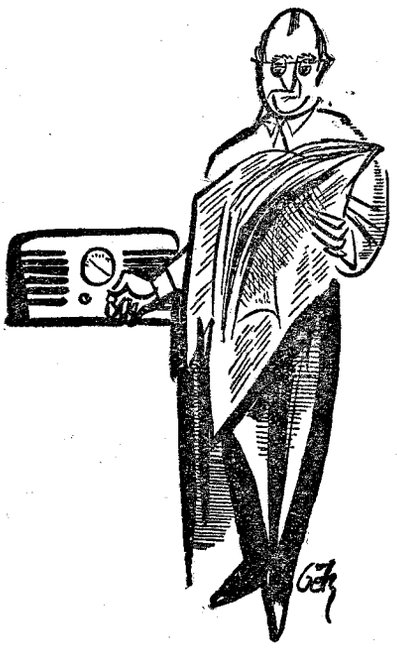
satisfied has never risen above 5 per cent. The B. B. C. keeps in close touch with listeners, who are represented on thirty advisory committees.

The "average" listener's taste in the two countries is roughly the same. But this "average" obscures what actually differentiates the taste of the individuals composing the two audiences. In both Britain and America the *decisive differential factor in matters of taste is education.* And since in both countries the less well educated outnumber the better educated, the very existence of the better educated is denied by the average produced by the statistics. As the report shows in a graphic chart, "if the population is taken as a whole, weight of numbers makes the order [of program popularity] practically the same as that of the listeners with elementary education."



It is to such a level of taste that broadcasting in America is geared. In Britain broadcast programs correspond in kind, though not proportionately, to the known diversities of taste among *all* the constituent elements of the listening audience. In other words, a man's taste is not held to be negligible because it doesn't happen to be average. It is my own belief that on this point of program policy the B. B. C. is right and American radio is wrong. More disputable is the further claim of the B. B. C.—and of the Beveridge committee—that such catholic programming is possible only under a monopoly. It is, indeed, on this issue that one's judgment of the virtue of the Beveridge report depends.

Perhaps the report's most remarkable disclosure is that virtually no one in Britain wants commercial broadcasting, American style, and that virtually everyone wants the B. B. C. to carry on. Opinion differs only as to whether the B. B. C. should face some kind of competition. A public-opinion poll in 1949 showed 51 per cent in favor of the status quo; 33 per cent favored continuance of the B. B. C. but with commercial competition introduced; 16 per cent had no opinion. Ten of the eleven members of the Beveridge committee are against advertising competition; three favor, not sponsored programs, but limited periods each day during which firms can use radio to advertise their products to the public. One committee member only, while favoring continuance of the B. B. C., wants the introduction of a rival system of commercial broadcasting. The question remains, however, whether the majority opinion rests on valid reasoning.

Four main arguments against continuance of monopoly were advanced. Several witnesses expressed fear of the B. B. C.'s excessive power over men's minds: "I do not like the brute force of monopoly." There was objection, secondly, to the increasing size and unwieldiness of the B. B. C. Thirdly, those favoring regional and local self-expression resented centralized control of programming from London. And finally there was the argument of those "who look to broadcasting as a means of earning their livelihood . . . and fear the power of a monopoly over their lives."

Against these objections the B. B. C. submitted a passionately argued brief. It denied strenuously that the dangers cited were "inherent" or "inevitable" in monopoly. But as its main defense it put forward the view that in *public-service broadcasting, competition as such, whether commercial or otherwise, is disastrous.*

> So far as the part that broadcasting can play in the life of the community is concerned, the crucial test is that of standards. . . . By standards is here meant the purpose, taste, cultural aims, range, and general sense of responsibility of the broadcasting service as a whole. . . . Under any system of competitive broadcasting all these would be at the mercy of Gresham's Law. The good, in the long run, will inescapably be driven out by the bad. . . . And perhaps the worst prospect is that there would be no sudden or dramatic drop that could be seized on and challenged.

The warped mind of the well-intentioned monopolist could hardly be better illustrated than by this unqualified, and wholly unsubstantiated, prophecy of doom. The Beveridge committee properly dismisses the argument as nonsense. With equal emphasis it dismisses the B. B. C. contention that it is justified by its fine record of achievement: this of itself provides no guaranty that it may not later abuse its vast authority.

WHAT, then, induced the Beveridge committee to recommend continuance of monopoly? The answer highlights the fundamental difference between the philosophies of broadcasting that obtain in Britain and the United States. "The highest social purpose of broadcasting," says the committee, "in the last resort is one of education." The British, in other words, have such belief in education that they are determined to harness broadcasting to it. "To make broadcast programs directly and automatically dependent on the preferences expressed by listeners" would be contrary to this high purpose. For *"the duty of broadcasting is not to please the greatest number of listeners but to keep open the channel for communication of ideas of all kinds,*

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popular and unpopular." It is a commentary on the confused thinking of our times that there will be many to protest that this is not the language of democracy.

Given this goal, the committee finds it easy to reject commercial broadcasting as a source of competition for the B. B. C. "Dependence upon sponsors for the means of broadcast communication means that the nature of the communication is in the last result dictated for the wrong aims and often takes forms which public opinion in this country would reject. . . . We want more and freer competition than exists at present, but it must be competition in service, not competition for listeners." The committee rejects non-commercial competition because "in the physical conditions governing broadcasting in Britain [that is, the shortage of available frequencies] there cannot be more than imperfect competition between perhaps three or four broadcasting authorities of equal rank." *Faute de mieux,* therefore, it seeks an internal reorganization of the B. B. C. calculated to mitigate, at least, the four "inherent" dangers of monopoly.

There can be no dispute that broadcasting should be an educative influence in society. Nor is it likely that anyone who knows the B. B. C.'s fine record of performance will grudge it a continued lease on life. One can even understand rejection of a rival system of commercial broadcasting if, as appears, it is not wanted by the public—though we should remember that at least one-third of the British public does want it. But what, to an American at least, seems baffling is the view that the use of broadcasting should be confined to a controlled experiment in education. Why should it not serve other ends as well? The scope for such other services is admittedly limited by shortage of frequencies, but perhaps the most damaging indictment of the B. B. C. is that it has strenuously sought to circumscribe that scope.

There exists in Britain a system of so-called "wire broadcasting." Programs picked up at a central point by a "relay exchange" are distributed by special wires to listeners subscribing to the system. Subscribers now number 8 per cent of all radio-license holders. Their number, however, is artificially restricted because half the county boroughs in Britain have refused to allow the relay exchanges to lay their wires. But for such restrictions an alternative system of broadcasting would be available to the vast majority of British listeners. Rural listeners alone would be excluded. The B. B. C. long ago foresaw this danger and worked feverishly to scotch it. As a result, if the exchanges provide two channels to their subscribers, they must offer B. B. C. programs exclusively on one and for 75 per cent of the time on the other. They are forbidden, moreover, to originate any program matter themselves!

B. B. C. engineers do not seem to have been exactly diligent in exploring the possibilities of high-frequency broadcasting. FM is thus far non-existent in Britain. The reason is not far to seek. Development of fresh channels, like wire broadcasting, offers an opening for competition, which the B. B. C. fears like the plague.

THE Beveridge report's insistence on the educational mission of broadcasting is but the reaffirmation, by an independent body, of a faith exemplified in a quarter-century of effort by the B. B. C. No system of broadcasting in the world has spent more thought, more time, more money on education. Nowhere, one might suppose, could one be surer of discovering the fruits of such persistent effort. It is profoundly disturbing, therefore, to find that the response of listeners has, to put it mildly, been lukewarm. Tragic almost in its social and cultural implications is the following admission in the report:

> On the whole it is fair to say that while the influence of an outstanding broadcast talk may be immense, broadcasting has proved a less forceful instrument of formal education than was hoped by many at its beginning. The main problem of school broadcasting is not at the sending end but at the receiving end. The main problem of broadcasting as a means of adult education is that of finding and keeping an audience. . . . The [B. B. C.'s] charter lists the purposes of broadcasting, in order, as information, education, and entertainment. The vast majority of listeners put these purposes in a different order, with entertainment first.

In school broadcasting the main difficulties, apparently, have been inadequate reception due to poor sets and atmospherics and the adjustment of classroom schedules to radio's fixed hours of transmission. In adult education the unsolved problem has been that of securing group leaders competent to guide discussion on the contents of the broadcast. But with respect, at least, to adult listeners, two more fundamental difficulties are brought to light. The first has to do with the behavior pattern of the average listener. The B. B. C.'s research department has discovered that "the bulk of the audience treat listening as a secondary activity, a background noise while they are doing something else"; 57 per cent of a cross-section of the public confessed to this. The B. B. C. suspects the true figure to be higher. What occasions this behavior pattern?

A partial clue is found in the second difficulty, which

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has implications far transcending the realm of broadcasting. "Those who have not passed beyond the elementary-education stage at school," the report says, "are not easily brought beyond it by broadcasting." Formal education, in other words, which ends at the elementary-school level just doesn't "take." The inoculation is "negative," leaving the patient susceptible to all the environmental influences that lead to cultural backsliding. Worse still, perhaps, it implants no positive desire to enter into the human heritage of cultural experience. Here, perhaps, is one explanation of the perplexing paradox that in communication's golden age there is no sign that we are moving more rapidly or more surely toward a cultural millennium.

The response of the Beveridge report to this dilemma is not to admit defeat but to invoke redoubled effort. The B. B. C. likewise, instead of beating a retreat, has sought to discover breaches in the defense works of a seemingly intractable public. It believes it has found one. It is experimenting with broadcasts to "closed audiences"—that is, to groups of listeners with common specialized interests. A series of talks addressed to miners, for instance, has shown encouraging results.

Thus with the so-called facts against them, the British persist in tilting at windmills, firm in the belief that, at least where human beings are concerned, such "facts" are not immutable. They have the courage of their high faith in education as the keystone of democracy. At a time when deference to the infallibility of statistics is so much in vogue, it is difficult not to concede them one's admiration. Who knows but what, in the long run, faith will win out over logic.

The Zemindars and Due Process

BY JEAN LYON

Madras, India

INDIAN leaders have been talking of land reform ever since they began talking of independence. The slogan "Land to the Tiller" was never, in India, monopolized by the Communists. It was a slogan of the Congress Party for years before it came to power, is used by the Socialists, who have now split off from the Congress, and has been the standby of every rural reformer, Indian or Western, who ever dirtied the toe of his shoe in an Indian village.

Although there are few accurate data on the secretive Indian peasant, what figures one can find, ranging from those in a 1931 census to those in 1950 committee reports, point to the conclusion that a huge majority—anywhere from 70 to 95 per cent—of the people who till the soil of India have no permanent stake in it. The sun-baked, meagerly clad, chronically underfed agricultural workers carry on their shoulders rent collectors and landlords stacked up in tiers like circus acrobats.

All this was to have been changed when the Congress Party came to power and India won its independence. But India's young government, with its theories of justice to all groups, seems to have been caught on the horns of a dilemma. On the one hand is the ideal of land to the tiller—or "elimination of all intermediaries between the state and the farmer," as it is more often worded now. On the other is the belief in individual property rights. The Indian constitution, partly at the insistence of Gandhi himself, guaranteed to the property-owner his right to his land; if it is taken away from him by the state it must be paid for "fairly."

A more revolutionary government would have seen to it that the state reserved the right to confiscate land. A less revolutionary government would never have promised land to the tiller—and probably, in India, would never have had the support of the people. So in trying to rid itself of landlordism and at the same time give landlords "fair" compensation, India has been moving toward land reform with leaden feet. The pyramid of people on the tiller's shoulders cannot be suddenly bounced off. A scaffolding must be built and ladders set up so that each one can come down from his perch safely and with dignity. Meanwhile the tiller must continue to bear the weight. He may, in fact, have to carry the scaffolding and the ladders as well before he is free.

Government and Congress Party planners have mapped out land reforms which make good reading. The 1949 report of the party's Agrarian Reforms Committee formulated four principles: (1) there should be opportunity for "the development of the farmer's personality"; (2) there should be no exploitation of one class by another; (3) maximum efficiency in production should be obtained; and (4) the reforms should be within the realm of practicability. Out of all the plans one major concrete proposal has emerged and has been pushed on a nation-wide scale—that is, the abolition of the *zemindar*, the ubiquitous rent-collecting landlord. The theory is that he must be plucked from the top of the pyramid before other reforms can be effective.

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This first step is being taken in slow motion, for two reasons. One is the high cost of "fair" compensation. If a state has a huge number of *zemindars*, the cost of abolishing them is nearly prohibitive, and the legislature is inclined to postpone the evil day. (Each state is expected to work out its own law, since land tenure has so many different forms throughout the country; the central government reserves the right only to pass on its final constitutionality.) In Uttar Pradesh, for example, where there are two million *zemindars* in a population of sixty million, the law was discussed for a year and a half, with government representatives paring down the compensation while *zemindars* jockeyed it up, before it was finally passed last January.

While the debate was going on in the legislative committees, the government hit upon a way of raising the sum required. Peasants would be asked to pay ten years rent in advance, as a sort of purchase price for their land. This would go into a fund out of which compensation to *zemindars* would be paid. Peasants were not compelled to do this, but if they consented, their land tax would be only half what they had paid to the *zemindar* and they would receive title to their land. Those who didn't pay up would presumably also get title to their land, but their tax would be equivalent to the rent they had paid to the *zemindar*. It seemed a strange twisting of the initial purpose of the legislation. The poorest tillers, who needed aid the most, would be unable to pay and would receive little benefit from the reform. Other states have handled the compensation in other ways, but in the end it must be paid with money somehow collected from the people. So far only eight states out of twenty-six have passed or are discussing the necessary legislation.

THE second obstacle is the influence of the *zemindars,* who are articulate, wealthy, and shrewd. Many are members of state legislatures; they control certain portions of the press—in Lucknow a group of *zemindars* publish their own newspaper; they have their representatives on the committees which have drafted the *zemindar*-abolition laws. Where such laws have been passed, they have carried the fight to the courts.

The Maharanjdhiraj of Darbhanga, who is one king up on a mere Maharajah and the richest *zemindar* of them all, is carrying on the fight in the state of Bihar. With an annual gross income from rents alone of seven million rupees (about $1,400,000) he will be able to continue the battle as long as the courts will let him.

The Uttar Pradesh *zemindars* did not wait for the ink to dry on the bill before they filed their complaints with the High Court, which ruled that the law should not be enforced until the complaint had been examined. If any one of these cases is decided in favor of the plaintiff, the constitutionality of the reform throughout the whole country will be in question. Government officials with whom I have talked do not seem worried; they are sure that the Supreme Court, if the cases reach it, will rule against the *zemindars*.

The voice of the *zemindar*, however, is far louder in the land right now than the voice of the peasant. In all the many columns of print in the Lucknow papers during the last week of the legislative discussion of the Uttar Pradesh bill I found only one mention of the benefits of the bill to the cultivator: a Socialist member of the lower house asked plaintively at one point why millions of poor peasants were being exploited for the sake of a handful of *zemindars*. The discussion of the bill became so centered on the size and method of the yearly payments to the *zemindars* that the peasant seemed to be completely forgotten. The benefits he would receive were defined for me by patient government officials as a reduced land tax, provided he paid his ten years' rent in advance, and title to the land, which included the right to sell. For those who did not qualify for the first benefit, there was still the second, which was said to be important "psychologically." Admittedly the bill did not benefit the landless agricultural workers, who are estimated to number eight million in Uttar Pradesh.

No state has yet completed the process of getting rid of *zemindars*, although Madras has come close to it. Under a law which was passed in 1948 Madras has been easing them out in batches, the last batch receiving notice to cease operations on January 22 of this year. But the legal process of compensation adjustment through district tribunals will continue for four years, and the actual divorce of the *zemindar* from his land revenues will not be completed until that is over.

In Madras even more than in Uttar Pradesh the benefit to the tiller of the soil is difficult to discover. In many cases the man who pays rent to the *zemindar* is another landlord rather than a cultivator. Thus when the *zemindar* loses title to the land, the immediate beneficiary is likely to be landlord number two. The abolition of the Madras *zemindars* is, in any case, not synonymous with the abolition of landlordism.

Earnest Congressmen plead for understanding that reform can only come step by step. The order of priority seems to be to tackle the problem of the *zemindar,* then of the other landlords, the small cultivators, and finally the landless agricultural workers. Whether land reform could be introduced in any other way in a country with a feudal agricultural economy like India's without confiscating the land as the Chinese Communists have done is of course the sixty-four-dollar question. One can't help wondering about both the democracy and the expediency of a method which leaves to the last the millions of landless agricultural workers and those additional millions whose land will not support a normal-sized family and a pair of bullocks, no matter how many improved seeds and how much chemical fertilizer is provided by the state.

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Everybody's Business

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Handouts for Management

AT THEIR annual meeting at Hoboken on May 7 the stockholders of the United States Steel Corporation approved a "stock-option incentive plan" for the benefit of the upper echelon of management which may well ripen into one of the juiciest plums in corporate history. Selected officials are to be given "calls" which may run for as long as ten years on blocks of common stock to be allocated by a committee of directors not eligible to participate in the scheme. Altogether 1,300,000 shares of unissued stock, 5 per cent of the total now outstanding and worth about $58,500,000 at the current market price, are to be set aside, but no one individual will be offered more than 10,000 initially or 30,000 in all. The options are to be at the market price at the time the offer is made.

A number of the stockholders present at the annual meeting protested this plan vigorously. It would, some asserted, "dilute" the stockholders' interest, and while it might produce very large bonuses for the beneficiaries, it would not mean any tax advantage for the corporation since these bonuses would not be deductible as an expense. A more telling point, perhaps, was that such handouts to a favored few made for bad public relations at a time when workers were being urged not to press demands for higher wages.

The chairman of the corporation, Irving S. Olds, who is himself eligible to participate in the scheme, made little attempt to meet such criticisms. He knew that, as usual, the vast majority of stockholders had signed open proxies and that he had the votes he needed. So he stood pat on the statement of the Board of Directors that a "greater stock ownership by those employees who have the primary responsibility for the financial success of the corporation will enhance their incentive, induce continuity of service, and generally be in the interest of the corporation and its stockholders." Yet there is no provision in the plan to insure that officers who take up optioned stock will retain it permanently: they will be free to dispose of it just as soon as they find it profitable to do so.

What is the reason for the present spate of incentive-option plans of this kind, which in recent months have been adopted by a host of leading corporations, including Radio Corporation, Loew's, Republic Steel, Continental Can, Celanese, and Douglas Aircraft? Their popularity appears to be a direct result of Section 218 of the Revenue Act of 1950, an act which piled new burdens on most of us but also provided, in the words of Dean Griswold of the Harvard Law School, for "handouts to a special class of taxpayers"—company officials. Under the old law, when companies gave stock options to their employees, the recipients had to report as fully taxable income the difference between the option price and the value of the stock at the time the option was exercised. Now, if the option price is at least 95 per cent of the value of the stock at the time the option is given, the holder does not have to report any income until the stock is actually sold, and then the profit will count as a capital gain subject to a maximum tax rate of 25 per cent. All that he has to do to qualify for this special treatment, which offers a tremendous tax-saving to men in the higher income brackets, subject to tax rates of 70 per cent or more, is to retain the stock for at least two years from the time the option is given and at least six months after the stock is actually bought.

Since the profitability of these option plans depends very much on the general course of security prices, interested officials will undoubtedly become keen observers of the Stock Exchange. If in the course of the next two or three years there is a general fall in stock prices, the options may prove worthless. But it seems much more likely that the inflationary potential of the defense program will continue to push the stock market to new heights. If that happens, the receivers of options will reap an automatic reward which will have little direct relation to their skill in management.

Suppose, for instance, that Mr. Olds is given an option this month to buy 10,000 shares of United States Steel at 45—the current market price. Big Steel common has been rising fairly steadily for the past two and a half years: its low in 1949 was 20¼, and a few months ago it touched a high of 47. A further rise of twenty points during the next two years is certainly conceivable. In this event, if Mr. Olds takes up his option in November, 1952, and sells six months later, in May, 1953, he will have a profit of $200,000, subject only to a 25 per cent tax, or a net return of $150,000. This would mean extra compensation over a two-year period more than doubling his present salary, which in 1950 amounted to $68,732 after taxes.

Of course Mr. Olds is not absolutely assured of a profit, and in the event of a sharp slump in the six months immediately following his purchase of the optioned stock he might even incur a loss. It is a worthwhile gamble, however, for what he and other fortunate representatives of management who participate in such incentive plans are getting is almost perfect protection against further inflation. What, I wonder, would be the reaction of Big Steel's board if the United Steel Workers asked for similar protection in the form of bonus payments based on any increase over a two-year period of the value of the corporation's stock?

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BOOKS and the ARTS

EVENING DUSK

Translated from Heine's The North Sea

On the pale strand of the sea
I sat, troubled with thoughts and lonely.
The sun sank deeper, and threw
Red-glowing bands on the water,
And the white, wide waves,
Pressed by the incoming tide,
Foamed and rushed forward, nearer and nearer—
A weird rush of sounds, a whispering and piping,
A laughing and murmuring, sighing and whistling,
And between them in secret a lullaby-singing—
To me it reechoed like long-lost sagas,
Like earliest, beautiful stories
That I, once, as a boy,
Would hear from the neighbors' children,
When we, in the summer evening,
Squatted on the stone steps to the door,
Listening to the quiet tales
With small, attentive hearts
And shrewdly questioning eyes;
While the tall, grown girls
Beside fragrant flower-pots
Sat over there at the window,
Rose-faces,
Smiling and caught by the moon.

VERNON WATKINS

BERT BRECHT PRODUCES AN OPERA

BY PETER DE MENDELSSOHN

BERT BRECHT is outstanding among living German dramatists. He is also the most gifted producer now working on the German stage, and the only genuine revolutionary among its dramatic theoreticians. His clever and hard-hitting modern adaptation of John Gay's "Beggar's Opera," with music by the late Kurt Weill, earned him an international reputation in pre-Hitler days, but his more important works, mostly written in exile, in France, Finland, and the United States, like "Mother Courage and Her Children," "Master Puntila," "Galileo Galilei," and "The Caucasian Chalk Circle," are still largely unknown outside Germany.

Brecht is a veteran Marxist and has been close to the Communist Party, if he has not in fact been a member, for the past twenty-five years. Since his return from exile three years ago he has been working in the Soviet sector of Berlin, where he has established his own company and become virtual master of Max Reinhardt's former theater. This, he likes to explain, is the fault of the Americans, who placed so many bureaucratic obstacles in the path of his return that in the end he took the Russian short-cut. This may or may not be so, but it is significant that Brecht, a shrewd and wily man who affects a highly individualistic attitude of independence, has never publicly proclaimed his allegiance to President Pieck and the East German Republic. He has kept equally clear of committing himself in any way, at least in the eyes of the public, to the Soviet authorities. He never made the customary trip to Moscow, joined no writers' association, sits on no committee, and signs no manifestoes. He took no part in any of the various cultural and peace conferences arranged by the Russians in Berlin during the past few years, but insisted on taking his company on tours through West Germany and continued to produce his own plays in Switzerland.

It was presumably his high artistic reputation outside the Soviet orbit which enabled him to go his own way. German Communists were delighted to have him, placed facilities at his disposal which assured him of complete freedom to work, and make concessions to him which no one else in Soviet Berlin enjoys. As a result, during the past three years Brecht has gone from success to success both as a playwright and as a producer and become a factor of considerable artistic as well as political importance. What Brecht would do next was a question to which the answer had more than theatrical significance; it was a signpost as to how far anyone could go.

He has disappointed those who thought he would one day "see through it all," turn his back on Pieck and Grotewohl, and go West. But he has now "come up against" these men in circumstances which are as instructive as they were unforeseen. The cause was his new opera, "The Trial of Lucullus." Originally written in 1932 as a play for broadcasting, it has been set to music by Paul Dessau. The opera had its first and only performance at the Russian-controlled Berlin Opera House on March 17.

This is what happens in it. Lucullus, the great Roman general, has died, and at the crossroads between Hades and Elysium has to face a jury of shadows to whom he must justify his conduct on earth before they agree to admit him to the realm of the blessed spirits. The war lord who conquered "the East" for Rome in brutal wars of aggression and exploitation fails utterly to establish his case. As he recalls, ever more desperately, the heroic exploits of his career, the victims of his great deeds, soldiers and civilians, rise to confound his claims with accusations and mounting proof of the misery and suffering he has heaped upon them. Only his cook and his gardener testify for him, the latter because Lucullus caused him to bring the cherry tree to Europe. But

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the lone cherry tree is not enough. The tribunal finally condemns Lucullus to the pit of Acheron, and the opera ends with the chorus singing, "Away with him into Nothingness!"

On the face of it, it would seem that the story faithfully conforms to the party line. The jury condemns Lucullus's wars of aggression against the East and convicts the aggressor for his utter failure to make his contribution to constructive peace. But this was not the way it was viewed by the hierarchy of the Socialist Unity Party. While rehearsals were already in progress, the party secretary, Walter Ulbricht, suddenly had his doubts. Had not the wily Brecht tried to pull a fast one? There could be no doubt about the opera's unconditionally pacifist tendency; but did it, by virtue of this tendency, automatically support the Stalinist peace campaign? Not necessarily, it seemed. The condemnation of aggressive war which Brecht had obviously had in mind, appeared to be negatived by his very propaganda in favor of unconditional pacifism, which, carried to its logical end, must inevitably stand in the way of the Stalinist conception of the "warrior for peace." It was hard to believe that Brecht had not perceived this; but if he had, and his intention had been, with tongue in cheek, to demonstrate the dilemma of how to reconcile the fight for peace with unconditional condemnation of war, he had for once gone too far. What was more, he had deliberately placed his story in the nether world, which even by the widest stretch of imagination could not be considered "realistic." Moreover, it had an unrelieved pessimistic undertone which was not, as it should have been, balanced by a "constructive statement." Come to think of it, the whole thing was utterly and damnably "formalistic."

Had Bert Brecht tried, with the help of his great artistic gifts and his unchallenged reputation, to imply the incompatibility of Marxist doctrine with Communist propaganda? If so, he was due for a lesson. It was decided to kill the opera, or rather to give it enough rope to hang itself. To ban Brecht was unthinkable. He had to be booed off the stage by the only people whose judgment, according to his own teaching, he respected as being of any value—the workers. The first night took place as scheduled, but the press—including the Communist Party papers—was excluded. Tickets were not sold to the public but distributed to selected groups of trade unionists, members of the Communist youth organizations, and other reliable bodies, with instructions to provoke a theatrical scandal which would compel Brecht to withdraw the work.

What happened, in the presence of Pieck and Ulbricht in their box, was the opposite. A few hissers obeyed their instructions; the rest clean forgot all about them and, carried away by the overwhelming dramatic force of the play and the stark directness of Dessau's music, turned the opera into a delirious success. Those who were present report that Pieck and Ulbricht left their box in indignation while the audience was in an uproar of wild cheering and clapping, and Brecht and Dessau, no doubt well aware of what had been planned, openly embraced each other on the stage. The following day it was announced that no further performances of the opera would be given.

The Communist Party press did not comment on the incident for a full week. Then the official party organ took author and composer to task in a brief but instructive notice. The opera, it said, was an experiment which for artistic and ideological reasons was bound to fail. When he first wrote the text, it explained, Brecht may have been right in giving the fight against German Fascism a nether-world setting and clothing his prediction of the inevitable end of all aggressors in allegory.

But his outstanding analytical gifts will no doubt convince him that even in 1940 this poetic parable no longer adequately mirrored the historical situation and its trend of development, and that today it quite obviously no longer corresponds to reality. The world peace camp, with its 800,000,000 supporters under the leadership of the Soviet Union, is not only no "jury of shadows" but possesses the very real might and power necessary to bring all war criminals to trial here and now, on this earth. What may have been understandable at the beginning of the Hitlerite war as an expression of the insecure position of an exiled anti-Fascist writer is bound today to give an impression of a relapse into doubt and weakness.

Brecht has not answered this, or taken part in any of the polemics since stirred up by his opera. But it is reported that he is planning to produce it in Munich and elsewhere, this side of the Curtain.

PETER DE MENDELSSOHN

"The Liberated Artist"

SHERWOOD ANDERSON: HIS LIFE AND WORK. By James Schevill. The University of Denver Press. $4.

SHERWOOD ANDERSON. By Irving Howe. The American Men of Letters Series. William Sloane Associates. $3.50.

THESE two books, drawing upon the Anderson papers in the Newberry Library and an unpublished dissertation on Anderson's early life by William Sutton, give us suddenly a great deal of information about a man whose biography, partly through his own efforts, had become a literary legend. James Schevill presents the fuller biographical narrative, especially where he can draw upon the reminiscences and letters of Anderson's close friend, the distinguished historian Ferdinand Schevill. But Mr. Howe, despite a propensity for practicing lay psychiatry, has a deeper insight into the meaning of Anderson's baffled career, and he is much the better critic of Anderson's work. Although Mr. Schevill deals with the writings as he comes to them, sometimes at considerable length, his book has no critical center. Mr. Howe has a coherent view of Anderson, and his book is an act of criticism.

The crux of Anderson's biography is his celebrated flight from his paint factory at Elyria, Ohio, into the freedom of the artist, his "revolt from business morality." "A Story Teller's Story" and the "Memoirs" make this an action of epic clarity and epic significance. The documentary evidence reveals that in 1912, at the age of thirty-six, Anderson underwent an emotional crisis involving temporary aphasia and possibly amnesia. He wandered about for four days and was picked up in Cleveland, forty miles away, in a state of collapse. After a brief convalescence he spent several months winding up the affairs of the corporation of which he was president. He then took his family with him to Chicago, where he became a copy writer with an advertising agency he had formerly worked for.

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Yet Anderson did eventually flee from his family and from business, and the fictional version of the episode which gradually took shape in his mind was true to the ideal of the Liberated Artist which Mr. Howe rightly characterizes as a "culture-legend" of the 1920's. Van Wyck Brooks had stated the program of liberation in "America's Coming of Age." Later, in "The Ordeal of Mark Twain," he had demonstrated to the satisfaction of the post-war generation that this great artist had been maimed by repressive forces in American society. One could wish for a fuller analysis of Anderson's conception of Mark Twain, because here lay his "usable past"—not, as Mr. Schevill asserts, in the tradition of Hawthorne and Melville, which can hardly have meant much to a man with Anderson's inviolable Middle Western innocence and his touching faith that happiness always waited just around the corner.

The lesson of Mark Twain seemed to Anderson to prescribe flight into purity and freedom, but finding a pathway through the complexities of twentieth-century American culture proved to be more difficult than floating down the Mississippi on a raft. After "Winesburg, Ohio" (1919) and "Poor White" (1920) Anderson seemed to lose his way. For twenty years he passed from one literary fashion to another. In the decade of the First World War he had been an eager participant in what he later called the "Robin's Egg Renaissance" of Chicago, and a pupil of Brooks, Waldo Frank, and Paul Rosenfeld, whose Eastern and European cultivation seemed to him indispensable yet unattainable. During the 1920's he undertook experiments, sometimes profitable, under the influence of Gertrude Stein, whom he visited in Paris and with whom he continued to correspond. He had his Freudian phase, largely on the basis of conversations with a psychiatrist friend, and made an unsuccessful effort to become an American Lawrence. With the depression he discovered that he had been too restricted in his concentration upon "middle-class people in love," decided that "Freud let us all down," and became passionately interested in the workers and in militant unionism. The one preoccupation that survived all these changes was Anderson's need for a sense of community, of "togetherness." This need led him for a time to consider himself a Communist. In a fashion characteristic of the early 1930's he moved easily from this position to enthusiastic support of the New Deal, but he was as indifferent to ideologies as Huckleberry Finn, and the principal result of his sharing in the social consciousness of the 1930's was a body of vivid reporting on everyday life during the depression. At his death in 1941 he was still searching for a theme and a style that could release his imagination.

Despite their differences of equipment and method Mr. Schevill and Mr. Howe end up with approximately the same definition of the body of Anderson's work they are prepared to defend. The central achievement is of course "Winesburg." Mr. Schevill calls the book a myth, although he is not clear what this means, and he does not provide evidence to support his contention that "Winesburg" set the example for Faulkner's "extraordinary attempt to create a mythological Southern county called Yoknapatawpha." Mr. Howe's analysis of the book is richer and more relevant. He is especially perceptive in his account of Anderson's tenderness toward the "grotesques" who are grouped in it in an almost choreographic pattern. To "Winesburg" both critics would add the early part of "Poor White," the portrait of Sponge Martin in "Dark Laughter," and several stories—"The Egg," "I Want to Know Why," "Brother Death," "The Man Who Became a Woman," and "Death in the Woods." Both would rescue some passages from the journalism of the 1930's, and Mr. Schevill makes a valid claim for portions of the "Memoirs," taken as fiction rather than as autobiography.

The placing of Anderson that emerges from these first efforts at a full view of him is stated most satisfactorily in the concluding pages of Mr. Howe's book. Anderson cannot be accepted at his own valuation, as a prophet and seer: he simply "does not tell us enough." But his testimony concerning the transition from an agrarian to an industrial society has great evidential value, and he has created "a small body of fiction unique in American writing for the lyrical purity of its feeling." Despite his many failures "there were a few moments when he spoke, as almost no one else among American writers, with the voice of love."

HENRY NASH SMITH

The Primitive Gospel of the Herrenvolk

WHITE MAN BOSS. By Adamastor. The Beacon Press. $3.

REVIEWING Henry Gibbs's "Twilight in South Africa" in *The Nation* of March 10, 1951, I ventured the surmise that since Smuts was dead, the outside world might expect to get a truer picture of that "puzzled, frightened country" than it had had during his lifetime. Less than two weeks later came this exposé by a South African author who deemed it wise to use a pseudonym meaning the Spirit of Good Hope, "originally called the Cape of Storms."

The storms in the Union appear even more ominous in this book than they did in "Twilight in South Africa." Adamastor says in his conclusion, "The lights are going out in South Africa one

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by one." The light of English liberalism there burns hardly brighter than that of the Dutch Reformed Church—the blatant, obdurate, solemn voice of the primitive gospel of the *Herrenvolk*. In fact, the most important contribution of "White Man Boss" is the thesis that the English boss generally believes as fervently in white supremacy as does the Boer *Baas*. Britons and Boers alike, with few exceptions, demand *apartheid*—segregation of the natives—or "aparthate," as the critics call it. If a newcomer protests against that policy, "he will find at once that both white sections are against him; the English South African because he [the newcomer] is a humanitarian, and the Volk because he is talking like a 'Communist.'"

Like Gibbs, Adamastor devotes considerable space to the Broederbond, the sinister secret organization of the loyal Afrikaans-speaking sons of the loyal Boers of the war with the English, 1899-1901. The Bond controls two-thirds of the Nationalist members of the House of Assembly and the Senate and three-quarters of the Malan Cabinet. The author cites former Prime Minister Hertzog as authority for the statement that Malan became a member of this neo-Nazi-Fascist organization in 1933.

Even more than the English pseudo-liberals or the Broederbond, the Dutch Reformed Church is the favorite butt of the author's gibes. The God of these Afrikaners "is a very powerful, very exclusive, and very fierce God. He does not like Roman Catholics or Jews. He hates Communists. He turns His face away from skins that are not white or that are near-white. He has a traditional dislike for English-speaking folk."

What are the origins of this white tribalism in South Africa? In addition to the bitterness stemming from defeat in the Boer War, to the determination to make Afrikaans *the* language of the Union, and, of course, in addition to the lust for power and control of South Africa's great wealth, sex explains in large measure the psychopathic fear and hatred of most Afrikaners. Many Americans will recognize the force of the rationalization for the inequalities imposed upon the natives in the question: "Would you like your sister to marry a Kaffir?" But what South Africans really mean is, "How can I prevent my son from having bastard offspring by Kaffir maids?" In support of this view Adamastor cites the numerous offspring of Coenraad de Buys, Gertrude Millin's "King of the Bastards." About 500,000 of the "colored" have "escaped" into the ranks of the master-race.

Some of the most valuable pages of this disturbing book recount the Durban riots of January, 1949. Europeans looked on amused while black Africans fought Indians—"'the coons are after the coolies.'" Neither black Africans nor Indians were appointed to the commission that investigated the bloody riots. It is not surprising that the report closed with the mild admonition: "The situation in Durban requires constant vigilance."

Despite the storms, the riots, the dimming of the lights, Adamastor sees some hope. He is convinced that many white South Africans in the urban centers believe in equal rights for all men. Those of us in the United States who consider ourselves liberals must therefore find a way of establishing contact with the South African liberals behind what the author calls "the corrugated-iron curtain." Perhaps the Voice of America would have more success in South Africa than it has yet achieved in the Soviet Union.

RAYFORD W. LOGAN

Pleasant Tour of Italy

THE VILLA DIANA. By Alan Moorehead. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.

THESE are stereopticon slides of Italy, their three-dimensional quality given more by the author's trick of rendering atmosphere through the selection of relevant detail than by a true, I should say identifying, understanding of his subject. Of the eight pieces all but one are, essentially, travel sketches—brief and sensitive summations of an observant foreigner's impressions of Florence, Portofino, Siena, Venice, Rome, Cassino, and, last and least, Sicily.

Despite the *New Yorker* titles (the pieces appeared in the *New Yorker* with the exception of the one on Rome)—for example, the Florentine sketch is entitled A Street Car Named Boccaccio—Moorehead obviously wants to render in each piece not only a relevant anecdote but some distillation of his own reactions to this Latin world. He defines himself early on as one who "lives here as a foreigner who only sees a small part of the game and this probably from a prejudiced angle," and then proceeds, with a perception and grace which are quite endearing, to get as far into the game as possible.

But he has stacked the cards. For the structure of these occasional pieces Moorehead, a prolific writer, formerly war correspondent for the rabidly conservative *Daily Express*, has picked a single incident or central theme—such as the Palio race in Siena in Victory for Snail. This incident is explored in detail, and on its peg are hung generalizations, starting with one in the first paragraph that the race is "fairly representative of the kind of thing that has been going on here each summer for the last four or five hundred years." True enough, so the reader is ready to accept the rest on its face value.

Next comes: "It is a little difficult for a foreigner to get a firm grip on the rules." Moorehead then notes "the complete cynicism with which the race is run—this bland assumption that all men are inherently bad," and soon concludes: "Once the bewildered stranger grips this point, he has probably gone a long way toward understanding not only what goes on at Siena but at quite a few other places around the Mediterranean as well." And in case you have missed the point, he adds, "and in other matters, such as politics."

That is, of course, what I called stacking the cards, and I find the method objectionable, though the results, owing to Mr. Moorehead's eye for detail and easy, literate style, make enchanting reading. My objection, obviously, is that the whole thing, the summation of a people from spectacular, isolated incident, is highly fallible. And this method is used in every single piece. It is Moorehead's voluntary separateness, his continuous pleasure jaunt among the "locals," which so effectively keeps him out of the game and prevents his studies in atmosphere from assuming anything like honest depth.

The eighth piece gives him more scope. As a curious, civilized, and sensitive man, and as a foreigner, Moore-

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head is on safer ground when he explores the sympathetic past. His closing essay on Poliziano is first-rate in its joyous recognitional understanding of the period. (One is reminded of Pater's essays on Poliziano's famed and no less fascinating contemporaries, Ficino and Pico della Mirandola.) The present piece is far more than a spirited, slickly written piece of research, and the key to its penetration is in one of the few—but inevitable—generalizations Moorehead permits himself in this essay. Speaking of the closing years of the fifteenth century, he writes: "One has this impression of haste about most of Poliziano's friends: it is as though they sensed that they had very little time before some terrible and inevitable disaster came bearing down on them. . . . Where were they heading and what did it all mean? Who was going to control what they had created? It was a feeling, in fact, that has a certain familiar ring in the nineteen-fifties."

This sense of identity of sentiment, rather than the happy accident that the Mooreheads have been leasing Poliziano's Villa Diana for the past few years, seems to me to lie at the root of his fine understanding of his subject.

It is necessary to mention that the book is proofed neither for consistency of usage—"Renaissance" appears with and without upper case, in roman and in italics, and this is but one of fifty instances—nor for correct spelling of Italian words and phrases. This is unfortunate, since it distracts the reader's attention from a very pleasant and leisurely tour of Italy in good company.

FRANCES KEENE

A Partial Portrait

MARY GARDEN'S STORY. By Mary Garden and Louis Biancolli. Simon and Schuster. $3.75 (paper, $1).

THE memoir of the singer or prima donna, more so even than that of the actor, is a discouraging genre. The specimens produced in recent years by Farrar, Alda, Calvé, or even Lotte Lehmann have at best done little to redeem it, at worst done everything to put it hopelessly beyond the pale of literary redemption. So much skill and taste in one art, so abjectly little in another—such is the usual case in this sorely afflicted literary species. From Mary Garden, however, one expected something better. She helped shape an exciting chapter in modern musical history, from the moment of her abrupt and spectacular début as Louise in Paris in 1900 to her retirement thirty years later. It was, chiefly, the chapter of modern French opera. She was chosen and trained by Debussy as the first Mélisande; she created another dozen roles; she played a part in the careers and success of Debussy, Strauss, Charpentier, and other notable musicians; she established, with the help of Huneker and other admirers, a personal legend for herself, first in Paris, later at Hammerstein's Manhattan Opera, finally for twenty years in Chicago; and those who saw her Carmen, Louise, Salomé, Thaïs, and Tosca, her "L'Amore dei Tre Re" (Montemezzi), "Monna Vanna" (Février), "Judith" (Honegger), and "Risurrezione" (Alfano), above all her exquisite "Jongleur de Notre Dame" and her flawless and authentic Mélisande, have memories of a strange but haunting voice, a remarkable acting ability, and a compelling presence that counted for something important in the modern musical theater. She was able to raise operatic claptrap to distinction; but when genuine distinction was given her by a Debussy or a Strauss she met it on its own terms and realized a superb order of musical style and artistry.

Little of this is suggested in the present book. An earlier effort of Miss Garden's own having come to grief, Mr. Biancolli was called in to take down her words and put them into shape, the publishers insisting that she "tell all" and put in plenty about her celebrated "romances." This means that the history her book records is a jumbled blur; that dates and facts come helter-skelter if at all; that letters and documents are missing; that musical values become mostly a matter of gush, ecstasy, critical confusion, and "uninhibited" self-promotion; and that the famed "romances" (in which, we are told, no love for a human creature ever figured on her part), often lacking even the proper names that might satisfy vulgar curiosity, become the banal things such affairs inevitably turn out to be in books of this kind. This is a pity, for Miss Garden had an interesting tale to tell. A little light is shed: the chapter on Debussy conveys his impact and personality; and the ambition, sincerity, hard work, and vigorous dedication of Miss Garden's career come out through the interstices of the chatter, the "My God's," the self-bestowed "magnificents" and "wonderfuls," and the lists of triumphs, rivalries, backstage squabbles, and other customary features of the operatic life—much as they came out in her charming (and naturally "triumphant") lecture appearances of the past two years. But there was more than this to say—about Paris, Hammerstein, Chicago, acting, singing, and music; and until someone takes over from Huneker's and Van Vech-

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ten's early essays and says it for Miss Garden to better effect than the present report, her legend must remain a matter of private memories, of two or three classic performances, and of a few primitive recordings of Debussy's songs and arias made in Paris almost fifty years ago, the composer at the piano and the Scotch girl's voice eerily evoking his poetry across the dimming years. MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

Two Novels from Germany

THE LIEUTENANT MUST BE MAD. By Hellmut Kirst. Translated from the German by Richard and Clara Winston. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $3.

THE WORLD'S LAST CORNER. By Theodor Plievier. Adapted from a Translation by Robert Peck. Appleton-Century-Crofts. $3.

THESE two novels, both concerned with the moral responsibility of the individual in a corrupt world, come from Germany, which we have been led to expect has only a minimal and belated concern with such matters.

Hellmut Kirst tackles the problem directly, with the story of an a-political officer who returns to the fatherland from three hard years at the eastern front to find his cushy rear-area assignment swarming with crookedness. Lieutenant Strick, and the author, wavers between two reactions: one, a wryly funny, Good Soldier Schweikian sabotage of the war effort by out-Naziing the Nazis, and the other a standard moral indignation at sloth, corruption, and wickedness, in the style of our own war novelists, eventuating in an alliance with the anti-Nazi underground. It is true that "The Lieutenant Must Be Mad" fails as a novel because the author cannot make up his mind which attitude should predominate. But what is more to the point, we cannot visualize a solution for his dilemma. We cannot conceive of Germany in 1944 as a country suited to clever tricks aimed at discomfiting the brass and the local stuffed shirts (how far was the nearest crematorium from Rehhausen, the scene of this story?); nor could we now accept in good faith, knowing what we do, a serious narrative of Strick's gradual awakening and his final association with the feeble underground (what had he been doing in Russia for three long years?).

Nevertheless, Kirst writes honestly and well, and it will be interesting to see him bring his mordant humor to play on more tractable subjects.

Plievier's novel is an age and a continent removed from his enormously successful "Stalingrad." "The World's Last Corner" is a dusty hole somewhere on the seacoast of Peru into which a sailor is pitched when he jumps ship. Wenzel, the sailor, tries to make good, in a place where no one cares about making good, in a variety of ways, from dynamiting fish to painting suspension bridges, before he learns, in much the same way and even with the same language as Hemingway's sailor, Harry Morgan, in "To Have and Have Not," that no man alone is any good.

The first half of this book is thoroughly fascinating. It is full of the kind of rugged excitement in exotic places that enlivens the adventure stories of B. Traven, and it is handled with the smooth skill of an expert craftsman. But something goes wrong in Part Two. The point of view shifts, Wenzel loses his centrality, and the reader loses his identification with the sailor's struggles.

The title page says that the book has been "adapted from a translation," whatever that means, and the publishers imply that material from two separate novels by Plievier has been translated and woven together. But the weaving is not skilful, and the final product is hardly fair either to Plievier or to his audience, who will recognize in this oddly jumbled but intriguing book another facet of a powerful and mature imaginative talent.

HARVEY SWADOS

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Art

MANNY FARBER

AMADEO MODIGLIANI (1884-1920), once esteemed by worshipers of modern art, now makes most of them yawn. It is pretty obvious why he has become a forgotten man in the School of Paris while artists of less originality, deftness, and power hold their place as big shots—people like Soutine, Rouault, Bonnard, who are weak and vacillating compared to the outspoken Modigliani. His technique—composing in line and then filling in with unmodulated color, comic-strip fashion—has become passé in a world where the artist now gropes into his subconscious with ambiguous color and a worried brush. Modigliani was as sure as Velasquez that truth lay plainly before his eyes; he could draw a tiny button-hole eye and patiently, arbitrarily, fill it with dusty jade, not realizing—or realizing, and not caring—that life, his own debauched life, moved at a more violent, chaotic clip. Today he is like a cagy spit-ball pitcher hanging around in a business that has outlawed his delivery.

Painting only portraits, Modigliani had more odd little tricks than Olsen and Johnson, and some were just as tiresome. Elongated oval faces with pendulous noses, Mae Murray mouths, Halloween-mask eyes—gimmicks like these turned his models into puppets, toy balloons with hot rusty-orange skin, looping razor-sharp edges, plastered against a background that is as flat as they themselves are bulbous. These are just a few of the tricks repeated in

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each canvas now on display at the Museum of Modern Art. The peculiar thing about this Italian Jewish mannerist is that for all his affectation he could not only catch personalities with brutal candor but also charge his tight, rigid portraits with enough elegant, painterly feeling to put them in the pure, unnarrative, unpsychological league of Matisse.

Brutal candor: the fat, snotty-bourgeois matronliness of Mme Amédée, the slob-farmer essence of Soutine, the desperate sexlessness of Cocteau. Like a caricaturist, Modigliani could instantly seize on the main fact and exploit it, exaggerate it. He seemed to gather—and attract—types without any critical concern; one cannot help gasping at the number and variety of people that made up his company—people of every class from bohemians to prudish professionals, wispy schizoid 'teen-agers, whores, sexless matrons. Every class but one: being a gigolo, he wasn't much interested in working stiffs.

The source of his power lay in the use to which he put his impersonal lines in static compositions with unmodeled figures. The lines have very little to do with the person he paints. Like boa constrictors here, like lariats there, they whip in without warning from a concealed quarter, playing their private dance, ignoring the model, squeezing a face or chest into a bursting, tight-skinned sausage. And so the figures come out as locked ovals of space piled treacherously atop one another and irritatingly divorced from the background. Modigliani's sensuality reacted so strongly to color, line, and texture that he spent most of his energy stepping up the voltage of his canvases. By laying a paper on wet pigment and then drawing it away he created a sucked-up stipple surface—one of the most freakish surfaces in all painting—whose insidious effect on the spectator is to make him accept a morbid substitute for brushwork or realistic skin. When he seems to employ a line to bring out the roundness of an abdomen or thigh, he actually uses it merely for abstract contrast. This unrelenting passion to sensualize his medium at the expense of everything else shows up in Modigliani's drawings; the empty-faced "Head of Kisling" is simply a doodling attempt to expand the lyrical effect of some grass-like lines of hair which don't suggest hair and aren't meant to. People probably think they are getting one man's stylized but realistic impression of a likeness in each of these portraits because Modigliani gives them hands with five fingers, navels, and all the other standard equipment. What they are actually getting is a warm, troubling abstraction outfitted with the thinnest kind of anatomical skin.

But Modigliani's compositions get steadily worse as he goes farther into the canvas. Take a look at the painting of Anna Zborowska: backing her up is a vague architectural mess, no better or worse than the glib settings to be found in the work of an art student—some striped wallpaper, a splintered board glued to the lady's back, irrelevant atmospheric "concrete." Like an art student, Modigliani echoes the shapes and colors of his figures in quickly drummed-up window ledges, curtains, wall corners. If the composition lacks movement, he can always juice up a doorknob with a crucial shadow—although there is no other shadow in the painting ("Boy with Red Hair").

For all this, he is one of the cleanest painters of his fecund period. Unlike the others, he is selling nothing, pushing no part of his own personality into what he does. No bombast, no heroics no rhetoric, no self-pity, and most of all—no forced feeding. He is a sober painter, interested in painting and little else. And like Velasquez, he is an essentialist who makes the others look like dramatists, sentimentalists, exhibitionists.

AMERICAN ARTISTS are most genuinely themselves in the peculiar arts which they invented or helped to invent—movies, jazz, comic strips, the after-hours disk-jockey programs. All these arts are built on movement, and they fit in with the free-wheeling American inventive genius which is cramped by most of the traditional and established arts. The exhibition of American cartooning at the Metropolitan Museum brings together about 350 strips, political and animated cartoons, single-panel drawings, and sports cartoons. The exhibit deserves extended comment, which will be forthcoming. Meanwhile I advise you to see it. It runs till the middle of June.

Drama Note

THE plot of "Stalag 17" (Forty-eighth Street Theater) is exciting and convincing, the main characters and the conflicts among them are well conceived and worked out, and the setting looks so much like the real thing—the barracks of a war-prisoner camp in Germany—that it is in itself very affecting. But there is a touch of the gruesome, as opposed to the grim, about the play which derives from the very element designed, no doubt, to avoid that effect. I mean the jokes and horse play with which the inmates of a Nazi prison camp fight off boredom and terror. Such material assuredly has a legitimate place in the play; the trouble is that while some of the humor here is authentic, moving as well as funny, as it should be, much of it gives the impression of having been turned out by a routine gag-man to catch the easy laughter of a comfortable Broadway audience. The authors actually spent two years in Stalag 17, but I gather that their play has been a good deal re-

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written by professionals. This would account for the variable quality and tone of the humor; whatever the reason, the fact remains that much of it rings false in the context of the play—and in the context of a world where thousands upon thousands of human beings are rotting away in concentration camps.

M. M.

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Music

B. H. HAGGIN

IN A previous article I said that I didn't find Sunday at one o'clock a bad time for the New York Philharmonic broadcasts; that the tape recording, the few times I had listened, had produced excellent sound; and that equally good recordings might be broadcast at convenient times in western parts of the country. But one feature of the broadcasts I do object to. If I remember correctly, C.B.S. stated that use of tape recording would make it possible to broadcast the entire program of the concert; and with the broadcast shifted to a commercially less valuable part of the day you would think that when C.B.S. found it could not get all the music into the previously allotted ninety minutes it would allot additional minutes but instead it continued to broadcast only part of the concert. On an ordinary occasion like the March 25 broadcast it omitted Debussy's "Iberia" from the March 18 concert; on one of the most extraordinary occasions in broadcasting history it sliced a couple of scenes out of "Wozzeck" and preserved the subsequent Longines Symphonette program intact. (The broadcast of "Wozzeck" also had the usual technical defect of broadcasts of such works—a lack of the balance that would have allowed the orchestral detail to be heard as clearly as the vocal parts.)

As for "Wozzeck" itself (which I heard also in Carnegie Hall), Berg's language, which has made no musical sense to me in self-contained structures like the Violin Concerto or the Lyric Suite, turns out to be the predestined expressive medium for the nightmarish drama. To listen to the work is to be impressed by the wonderful expressive accuracy and power of the music, the extraordinary powers that are involved, the mastery with which they operate. And to listen to the performance was to be made newly aware of the powers of Mitropoulos in dealing with works of this kind, the powers of Mack Harrell, in the title role, as a dramatic singer.

I would suppose Berg's idiom to be one of the sources of the language of Luigi Dallapiccola that I found impressive in an orchestral work broadcast by Cantelli with the N.B.C. Symphony, and that provided powerful musical underlining of another nightmarish drama in the opera "The Prisoner," given in March by the Juilliard School's Opera Theater. Frederick Kiesler designed and contrived a superb stage production, and Frederic Waldman conducted an excellent musical performance.

The Israel Philharmonic's last concert in Carnegie Hall ended with a performance of Beethoven's "Eroica" which gave the impression that Leonard Bernstein was thinking only from one moment to the next, or rather from one effect of the moment to the next, and letting himself be carried away by one such effect after the other—instead of keeping successive details related in a continuous progression. It sounded also as though he were thinking only of top and bottom, not of the voices in between; nor was it merely that these voices were not clear and did not make their effect in the texture. It is by the most painstaking balancing of voices that Koussevitzky achieves the beauty of the composite sonority which one heard in his performances with the Israel Philharmonic; and Bernstein's lack of care about such balance must be one reason for the coarseness of the orchestra's sound in the "Eroica" and other works he conducted. What he should have learned from Koussevitzky he has not learned; what he seems to have acquired is certain mannerisms of Koussevitzy's style of conducting, including his unorthodox and occasionally unclear beat, which produced some tense moments in the "Eroica"—and tension is another enemy of good orchestral sonority. Bernstein being the gifted person he is, that performance of the "Eroica," at this late date, is something to worry about.

Lovely vocal sound was heard at the Town Hall concert of the Collegiate Chorale conducted by William Johnson, in some beautiful old music—four motets of Byrd, a Stabat Mater of Palestrina, and Gibbons's "London Street Cries." Also in some contemporary music that I found uninteresting—Milhaud's "The Two Cities" and Poulenc's three motets for a time of penitence.

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Letters to the Editors

Does the Record Differ . . .

Dear Sirs: In its issue of January 13 *The Nation* published an article by Louis Joughin entitled The Legal Defense of Hated Men. Concerning the contempt conviction of the lawyers who defended the Communist leaders, Mr. Joughin wrote: "Judge Medina's citation emphasized the fact of 'conspiracy' among the defense counsel, *and the record certainly appears to support the charge.* If ever a group of men gave indications of an agreement to get themselves in hot water, it was done by the Eleven and their lawyers [italics mine]."

This language can mean only that Mr. Joughin had read the record and had found in it evidence of conspiracy so persuasive as to lead inevitably to the conclusion that "the record certainly appears to support the charge."

The fact, however, is that Mr. Joughin had not read the record. In a letter which he sent me on March 20, he wrote, "I base my opinion upon parts of the verbatim proceedings as reported in reputable newspapers."

What is shocking is that, without hearing their side of the matter, a social historian of Mr. Joughin's eminence allowed himself to express a deliberate judgment as to the guilt of the defense lawyers—who were condemned to jail *without a trial*—on the basis only of what he had read in newspapers, the most "respectable" of which did not hesitate to stoop to the most unscrupulous distortions of the occurrences in the courtroom.

Mr. Joughin himself has had occasion to condemn other men for procedures far less reprehensible. In his book "The Legacy of Sacco and Vanzetti" he criticized a Canadian judge for his approval of the Sacco-Vanzetti verdict, although the judge had, according to Mr. Joughin's account, studied the whole record in the case. Mr. Joughin maintained that not even this was enough to support Judge Riddell's opinion, because "he obviously has not taken the trouble to understand many of the arguments of the defense, and because he insists upon considering the record in a vacuum—totally dissociated from the society which produced the issue."

I think that Mr. Joughin had so far succumbed to prevailing prejudice that, perhaps quite unconsciously, he permitted it to usurp the place of scientific method. In the average man this is understandable. In the social historian it is unforgivable. Mr. Joughin's lapse is but one more reminder of the caution with which all value judgments, from whatever source, are to be received.

HARRY SACHER

New York, April 19

. . . from Verbatim Reports?

Dear Sirs: First, Mr. Sacher charges that my judgment was predicated, not on the record, but on newspaper reports. This strikes me as a not too subtle mistranslation of my statement: "I base my opinion upon parts of the verbatim proceedings as reported in reputable newspapers." Apparently Mr. Sacher insists that I should have read the pertinent sections of the record in the certified stenographic typescript; he will not accept an opinion based upon a reading of the same words as printed in the newspapers.

Mr. Sacher is quibbling, unless he wishes to go farther and to charge that the verbatim proceedings were inaccurately recorded in the newspapers. He has not thus far offered that contention to me or to *The Nation.*

Second, Mr. Sacher believes that I allowed "prevailing prejudice" to "usurp scientific method" and that I arrived at a "deliberate judgment . . . only on the basis of what [I] had read in the newspapers . . . the most 'respectable' of which did not hesitate to stoop to the most unscrupulous distortions of the occurrences in the coutroom." Again, the question is: What *did* I pay attention to in the press reports? My answer is simple: I considered the verbatim record of the words used by the defense counsel in the presence of the court; to the narrative accounts of reporters, to pictures, to editorials, I gave absolutely no weight at all.

Third, Mr. Sacher complains that defense counsel were condemned to jail without a trial. But he makes no reference to my letter in *The Nation* of April 14 in which I state that there are formidable doubts as to whether the lawyers were held in contempt under lawful procedure. I based these doubts on the Harper-Haber analysis published in the *Yale Law Journal,* January, 1951.

Fourth, Mr. Sacher objects to my not having, in this instance, taken cognizance of the surrounding social scene, as I did in my history of the Sacco-Vanzetti case. I did not do so because my article was not a study of the Smith act, or the Communist Party, or the trial of the Eleven; my purpose was to evaluate certain empiric facts, among these, the language of Mr. Sacher and his associates.

G. LOUIS JOUGHIN

New York, April 25

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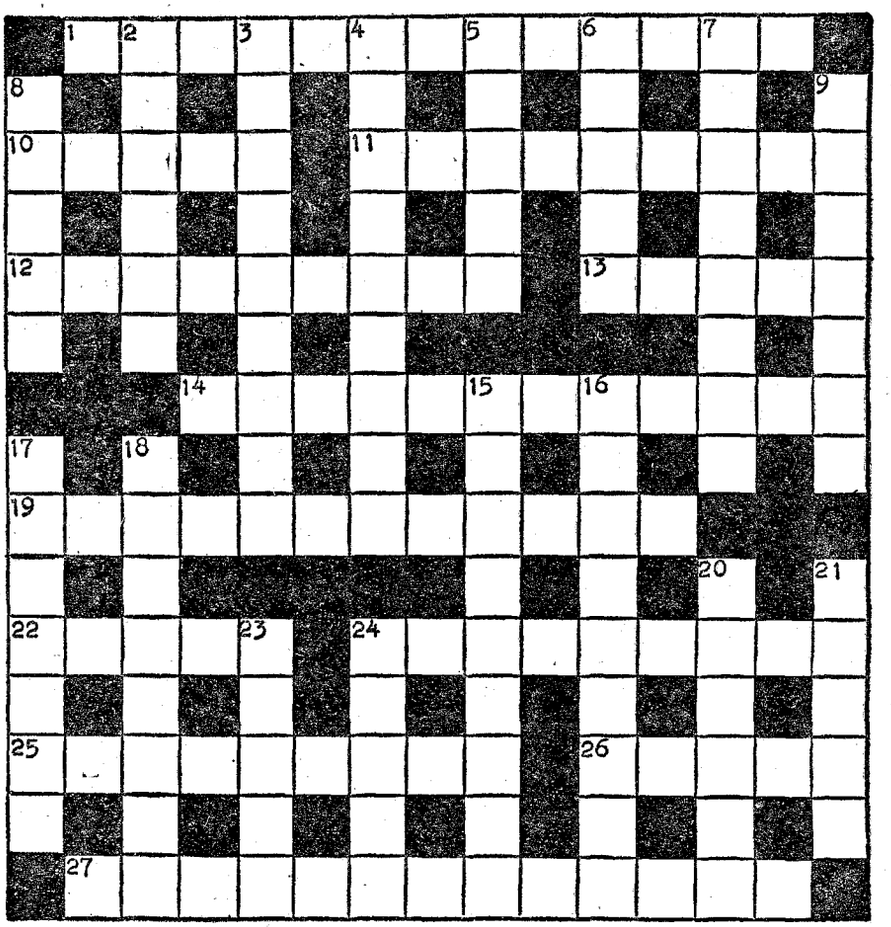
GENTLEMAN from the East would like to correspond with a young lady who holds the views of The Nation. Box 227, c/o The Nation.

M.A., English and history teacher at Private Girl's School, would like to tutor in Chicago area this summer. Write Box 228, c/o The Nation.

EDITORIAL SECRETARY, in the office of **The Nation,** skilled stenographer, fast typist. Newspaper Guild scale. Call for appointment BA 7-1064.

Crossword Puzzle No. 413

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 See! Oh! Oh! It makes pop pop! (6, 7)
10 Ben Ezra was one. (5)
11 If you are me, I need not say "please remit." (9)
12 Except in the eyes of the cold-blooded? (9)
13 She couldn't be confused with the blameless. (5)
14 Heaven and hell (if you want to avoid an inclination)? (6, 6)
19 Honest hearts sit beside them, perhaps. (12)
22 Bury between. (5)
24 It might be a way in a well. (9)
25 Proving a rubber horse is best! (9)
26 Gum-drop? (5)
27 Capable of fracture with a Brazilian herb. (6, 7)

DOWN

2 Napoleon thought it perfidious. (6)
3 Bad for the driver, implying an old dog, perhaps! (5, 4)
4 Tidy flocks, or their keepers? (9)
5 Put in a broken stein. (5)
6 Trachea tissue. (5)
7 Bounced on the chin, perhaps? (8)
8 Roots, perhaps, like larvae. (5)
9 Always a garage, if it looks fishy. (7)
15 One of those ships no man can serve? (3-6)
16 Evidently has the oculist's O. K. in the army! (4, 5)
17 Nice with rice! (7)
18 By land, in France, under the balcony. (8)
20 Plates for the drawing room . . . . . (6)
21 . . . . . or just one confused with part of the center-piece? (5)
23 The type characterized by serifs. (5)
24 Push aside. (5)

• • • • •

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 412

ACROSS:—1, 16, 25 and 10 ONE MAN'S MEAT IS ANOTHER MAN'S POISON; 9 and 18 SHOULDER BLADES; 11 PALACES; 12 REPENTS; 14 HEDGES; 15 PASTIMES; 17 OBLATION; 20 FLAGON; 22 MALTESE; 24 BAYONET; 26 TENUTO; 27 ALIGHTED; 28 SHAKESPEARE.

DOWN:—2 NEURALGIA; 3 MIDGETS; 4 NERO; 5 MOPETS; 6 AGILE; 7 THRACE; 8 and 21 BOTTLE OPENER; 13 SPUNK; 19 IN STOCK; 20 FRAGILE; 23 TOUCH.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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Information Wanted

Dear Sirs: In connection with writing a doctoral dissertation I have been searching for biographical information about the Reverend Samuel Knox, 1756-1832, who was a Presbyterian minister at Bladdensburg, Frederick, and Baltimore, Maryland, and also the principal of the Frederick Academy and the founder of Baltimore College. He is known chiefly for his "Essay on Education."

I am particularly interested in his correspondence with his son-in-law, Archibald George. My address is 1816 Harrison Avenue, New York 53.

ASHLEY FOSTER

New York, April 19

CONTRIBUTORS

VERNON WATKINS is a Welsh poet. His translations of Heine's poetry will be published soon by New Directions.

PETER DE MENDELSSOHN writes for the *New Statesman and Nation.*

HENRY NASH SMITH, a member of the English Department of the University of Minnesota, is the author of "Virgin Land. The American West as Symbol and Myth."

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FRANCES KEENE edited "Neither Liberty Nor Bread," the only documented history of Italian Fascism as told by the opposition.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL is professor of English at the University of Chicago. A revised edition of his book "Literary Opinion in America" will soon be published.

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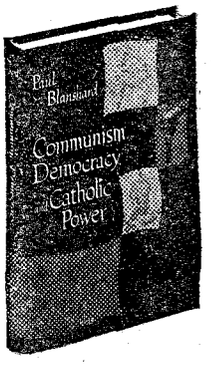

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"The first third presents the historical background, first of one, then the other, important as groundwork for the detailed dissection which follows. Inevitably he sometimes takes refuge in broad generalities.

"He then studies those phases of Communism and Catholicism which afford parallels of techniques and devices rather than substance:—the ticklish subject of education, the concept of the dedicated personality, the discipline and devotion reflected in institutionalism, the devices of distortion, deception, exploitation (it is here he will arouse passionate denunciation).

"The next part explores the strategies of penetration by which each institution conquers without majorities. With Catholicism in Europe leading the crusade against Communism, this section is peculiarly challenging, controversial on all grounds, political, social, religious.

"Finally he draws his balance sheet, urging adoption of a policy that must oppose the authoritarian spirit wherever found, if democracy is to survive. To be anti-Communistic, he feels, is a moral and intellectual necessity for free men. A different set of values is involved in a temperate anti-Vatican policy but the danger he urges can be faced only by breaking the taboo against frank discussion of the Vatican as a threat to responsible citizenship.

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